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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MARCH MEETING, 1885.

THE stated monthly meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at No. 30 Tremont Street, Boston; and the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, was warmly welcomed as he again occupied the chair.

The record of the last meeting by the Recording Secretary was read and approved.

The gifts to the Library during the past month were reported by the Librarian.

The PRESIDENT then addressed the Society as follows:—

I was in doubt, Gentlemen, until almost the last moment, whether I could be here this afternoon. Our long iron stairway presents a formidable impediment to my still feeble limbs. The March winds and snows were even a more serious consideration to one not yet entirely free from aches and ills. But when I remembered that illness had already kept me away from this chair for three or four months, and that haply I should be in the way of occupying it, as your President, only once more after to-day, I could not resist the impulse, even at some risk, to make my appearance.

I come, however, without any formal introductory Paper, and must trust to my friend Dr. Ellis—to whom we are already so much indebted, and to whom I owe a special acknowledgment for making my place good, if not more than good, for so many months—to supplement anything that I may be able to say, either as to the living or the dead.

The dead, alas! claim our first notice this afternoon, as too often heretofore. Since our last monthly meeting we have lost two notable names from our Resident roll,—that of John C. Phillips and that of George Henry Preble.

The death of Mr. Phillips at the early age of forty-six is a subject for real sorrow in our community. With our own Society he had been associated but a few years. A lineal descendant of the Rev. George Phillips, the famous Puritan minister of Watertown in 1630,—the companion and friend of Governor Winthrop, who came over with Winthrop and the Charter, and catechised and preached on board the “*Arbella*” on the voyage,—he could not fail to take an interest in the earliest history of Massachusetts. I remember his showing me, with pride, an original autograph sermon of that distinguished ancestor and excellent man, when I was visiting him in his beautiful library some years ago. I believe he had other Phillips manuscripts, which we may hope will not be wholly lost to our Collections hereafter.

His later lineage, too, was of a kind to make him observant of whatever contributed to the honor and welfare of our Commonwealth. His family name is associated, as we know, with some of our most celebrated academies and institutions. Andover and Exeter owe their famous schools to the bounty and beneficence of the Phillipses. The Observatory of Harvard University was principally endowed by one of the same name and blood. The statues which adorn our squares are, many of them, from a Phillips Fund. He himself had given the generous sum of twenty-five thousand dollars to the Phillips Academy at Andover at their centennial celebration in 1878, and an equal amount to the Phillips Exeter Academy on a similar occasion. And it is within my own knowledge that he had supplied most important and liberal pecuniary and personal aid to other institutions, at moments of special need. I was associated with him as one of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge, of which he has been the Treasurer for several years past, and to which he has rendered valuable service. I was associated with him, also, in the management of the new Children’s Hospital, of whose board he was the Vice-President at his death, and of which he had been a most efficient and liberal supporter.

A graduate of Harvard in the class of 1858, there are those here who can bear witness to his character as a student, as well as to his worth as a man, better than myself; but I cannot but feel that our community has sustained a great loss in his early death, for which I desire to record my personal sorrow.

Of Admiral Preble, Dr. Ellis has a peculiar right to speak, as he was one of his parishioners in Charlestown for many years, and always an intimate friend. He was an officer in our Navy for half a century, and had seen much service in peace and in war. He did not wholly escape the injustices which resulted from suspicions and jealousies during our late civil struggle; but he was vindicated by a Court of Inquiry, or Court-martial, and no shadow rests on his long and honorable record. Meantime his contributions to History have been numerous and important.

His "Flag of the United States and other National Flags," in a volume of eight hundred octavo pages, with many illustrations, is a work of the highest interest, full of patriotic incident, and exhibiting great research. His more recent "Chronological History of the Origin and Development of Steam Navigation," in nearly five hundred octavo pages, has also much valuable matter, which can hardly be found anywhere else in so convenient and condensed a form. In sending me a copy of this volume last summer, he spoke of having been forced, by the impatience of the publishers, to issue it without the opportunity of correcting and completing it as he desired. But it is a highly creditable volume, and exhibits great interest in the subject as well as a thorough acquaintance with all its details.

I forbear, however, from dwelling longer on his works or his career, in the assurance that they will be dealt with more worthily by others. I cannot fail to remember, however, that on one of his last visits to me at Brookline last autumn, when I was already somewhat of an invalid, he left with me for examination a magnificently bound volume which proved to contain my orations at Bunker Hill and at Yorktown in 1881, which he had been at the personal cost and labor of illustrating sumptuously with portraits and engravings of the men and the scenes to which the orations referred, and

which can hardly be surpassed by any volume of the same kind. He regarded it as one of the gems of his large and valuable library.

I could not but regret that the state of my health precluded my attendance at the funeral of friends for whom I had so warm an esteem and regard as Admiral Preble and Mr. Phillips; but our Society was fitly represented at both.

DR. ELLIS said that there was something singularly modest and worthy in the character of Admiral Preble, who was a most accomplished officer, and a high-minded, excellent, and honorable man.

DR. PEABODY spoke of him as commanding at once respect and affection, as thoroughly patriotic, and as leaving a memory of enduring honor with all who knew him.

Appropriate resolutions were then passed; and the Rev. E. G. Porter was appointed to prepare a memoir of Mr. Phillips, and Dr. Peabody to write one of Admiral Preble.

The Hon. J. L. M. Curry, LL.D., of Virginia, the agent of the Peabody Fund; and Amos Perry, of Providence, Secretary of the Rhode Island Historical Society, were elected Corresponding Members of the Society.

Messrs. George B. Chase and Augustus T. Perkins were appointed a Committee on the Treasurer's Accounts; and Mr. C. F. Adams, Jr., Judge Lowell, and the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall were appointed a Committee on Nominations.

In announcing the latter committee the PRESIDENT said:—

I desire to repeat distinctly and emphatically what I said at the last Annual Meeting, that, having now been President for thirty years, I must rely on being excused from further official service. The uncertainties of my health and the positive infirmities which are already upon me constrain me to withdraw from the chair. The Nominating Committee will do me the favor to take notice of this decision.

The Catalogue of the Cabinet being now in press, it was voted, on motion of Mr. C. C. Smith, that the cost of publishing be charged to the income of the Richard Frothingham Fund, and that the words "Published at the Charge of the Richard Frothingham Fund" be placed on the titlepage of the volume.

Dr. ELLIS communicated, on behalf of Patrick Grant, Esq., a diary kept by his grandfather, the Hon. Jonathan Mason, of a trip he made to Savannah in the winter of 1804-1805, which is here printed.

Jonathan Mason, the author of the diary, was the son of Jonathan Mason, a successful merchant, and of Miriam, daughter of Benjamin Clark, and was born in Boston Sept. 12, 1756. He was educated at the Boston Latin School and at the College of New Jersey in Princeton, where he graduated in 1774. Before he had graduated he was entered as a student in the office of Josiah Quincy, Jr., and was recommended for admission as an attorney of the Superior Court in 1779.¹ He gained distinction at the bar, and was a very prominent Federalist, being a member of the Legislature and of the Governor's Council, and United States Senator from 1800 to 1803, when he declined re-election and was succeeded by John Quincy Adams. He was afterwards a member of Congress from 1817 to 1821. He married Susannah, daughter of William Powell, of Boston, and had a large family of children. He died in Boston, Nov. 1, 1831, aged seventy-five.

The journey of which the diary gives an account was made in Mr. Mason's own carriage, with four horses and two outriders. Mrs. Mason and his daughters Miriam and Anna (afterwards Mrs. David Sears and Mrs. Patrick Grant) accompanied him.

Tuesday, Nov. 6, 1804. Left Boston at ten o'clock. Dined with Mr. and Mrs. Dowse,² with my brother and sister Perkins,³ and pleasantly. In the afternoon rode to Medfield and paid a visit to Mr. Prentiss.⁴ This good man we found fairly encircled with a wife and nine

¹ The Record Book of the Suffolk Bar, learnedly edited by Mr. George Dexter, states, under date of July 26, 1774, that Mr. Quincy has liberty "to take into his office Mr. Joshua Thomas and Mr. Jonathan Mason as clerks; Mr. Mason's term to be computed from the time he shall come into Mr. Quincy's office, as he has not yet graduated at College." Where he studied after Mr. Quincy's death is not recorded, as there is a break between 1774 and 1779, but it is said to have been with John Adams. His recommendation for admission as an attorney, however, was on motion of Perez Morton, afterwards Attorney-General of Massachusetts. See Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, vol. xix. pp. 152, 153. — Eds.

² At Bankside in Dedham, well known in recent years as the residence of the late Edmund Quincy, whose family inherited it from the Dowses. — Eds.

³ Thomas Perkins, of Boston, had married a sister of Mrs. Mason.

⁴ The Rev. Thomas Prentiss, D.D. (H. C. 1766), minister of Medfield. He died in 1814. — Eds.

children, very happy and contented, with little more than enough to keep them either decent or in health. Perhaps there is no family in this country where the same number are more happy, where the means are so small. Returned, and after drinking coffee, am much pleased to find that the tears upon the cheeks of my children, occasioned by their departure from those they love, are fast giving way to smiles and merriment. We do not forget our friends, but our passions subside and excitement ceases. The weather delightful, and prospects flattering. Clarke's house [at Medfield] decent, — disposition good.

Wednesday, Nov. 7. Rode this day thirty-two miles, mostly on the turnpike, beginning about thirty miles from Boston. Pleasant day, no accident, merry without care, and safe arrived at Thompson [Connecticut] at a Mr. Manchester's, whose daughters are pretty and fine persons, wanting only tinsel, fashion, and perhaps less *nature*, to make them what Bostonians would esteem fine women. This country [is] abounding in pleasant prospects, sufficient to assure you that in midsummer, with the dress of Nature, it must be beautiful to the eye of the traveller.

Thursday, Nov. 8. Arrived, after a journey of thirty-two miles, at Coventry at the house of a Mr. Brigham. Literally in this tavern no ostentation, but everything the best of its kind, and aided by the landlady, who shows to you one of the best dispositions in the world. She fills your table with good things, and she does this quickly. She smiles upon you with an anxiety to make you comfortable and happy. She makes you happy. You meet with more than you expected, and your feelings are gratified, with your appetite also. The country in general hill and dale; fine tract of land, and great plenty discovered among all the farmers. Road good, but not so good as a turnpike ought to be.

Friday, Nov. 9. Unpleasant, and snow with hail and rain. Reached Hartford [at] one o'clock; arrived at Lee's tavern, and passed the day pleasantly with my family. Fair within, though foul and rainy abroad.

Saturday. Passed the turnpike to New Haven, thirty-four miles, one of the best and straightest in New England. It goes through a delightful country, and had the weather been pleasant, it would have added greatly to the landscape; rode it in seven hours. Ten miles from New Haven stopped in the wood at the tavern. Poverty and difficulty, but peace, contentment, and affection in an extraordinary manner exhibited. Grandfather, grandmother, mother, and child by the name of Doolittle. I ought not to except from this group a black kitten, which the little child, seven months old, had been accustomed to pull, pinch, and squeeze until the animal had become sensible of it, and delighted in suffering it. Well persuaded I am that no man could use the same freedom with the same impunity, — but the wind is tempered to the shorn lamb.

Tarried the Sunday at New Haven. In the morning visited the Episcopalian church and heard preach a Dr. Hubbard,¹ a murderer of sense and language. I pity his parish; they must have hearts prone to virtue, or I am sure he will never point the road or give peace to the doubtful breast. Our morning misfortune was compensated in the afternoon by a great deal of eloquence and devout learning from Dr. Dwight.² Much as I have heard of the sermonizing talent of this gentleman, it far surpassed my expectations. Methodical, eloquent, ingenious, forcible, and in language chaste, extremely energetic, he commands universal attention from his audience, and you cannot leave this church without retaining a great proportion of his sermon for meditation. Invited Jonathan Trumbull and William Smith of South Carolina³ to dine with me at Mr. Butler's, and the company of each of them was desirable from their polite and easy deportment. This day, fine weather and drying roads. Much prosperity appears throughout this town. It is said it increases. This may be in a degree, but I do not think equal to Hartford. I grow daily an enemy to all wooden houses, and excepting the colleges, one or two churches, and a single dwelling-house, the whole of this city is wooden.

Passed, on Monday, from New Haven to Stamford, forty-two miles; a good road and delightful country. Stratford, Fairfield, Newfield, and Norwalk, all of them pretty towns, contiguous to the Sound and enjoying the advantages of the ocean and the land; their soil too good to be neglected, the sea gives a stimulus to their industry and makes good sailors of their spare young men. The buildings in all these towns carry evident marks of property and wealth, and indicate much fashion and taste. Comfortably lodged at Mr. Davenport's at Stamford; and almost all the inns we have passed have obliged us to admire the improvement, the abundance, the cleanliness, and the civility of the country and the accommodations.

Tuesday, Nov. 13. Early in the morning arrived at Rye, where we learned that Gouverneur Morris⁴ had left orders and directions for us to dine with him. We accordingly arrived at his château about three o'clock, and were ushered into a large company, two of which had been married but a few days, and this was a wedding dinner. Sixty and twenty-eight; a little disparity, but balanced by a good house and a

¹ The Rev. Bela Hubbard, D.D. (Y. C. 1758), Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven. For a more favorable account of him, see Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. v. p. 234. He died in 1812. — Eds.

² The well-known Dr. Timothy Dwight, at this time President of Yale College. — Eds.

³ These were probably students in Yale College. — Eds.

⁴ Gouverneur Morris (C. C. 1768), the distinguished Federalist statesman, lived at the Manor House of Morrisania, near Rye, New York. He had been in the Senate with Mr. Mason. He died in 1816. — Eds.

plentiful fortune, — convenient things to a young lady at twenty-eight. We met also Mr. King,¹ and Mr. Samuel Ogden² and his lady and daughter; also Mr. Hammond and lady and two sisters. We passed Tuesday and dinner on Wednesday with great sociability and mirth, added to splendor in the extreme. My friend is a real aristocrat, and he lives literally like a nobleman. You are continually attracted by a profusion of plate, gold, and mirror. He has all this world can give him but a good wife and amiable children; and with all his possessions he is to be added to the many proofs of the folly of those who leave themselves in the want of those good things in the latter part of life, when they are absolutely necessary to constitute our happiness. He also laments that he did not, twenty years since, unite his talents with some corresponding female mind to make each other happy.³

On Wednesday evening we arrived at New York, at Mrs. Avery's. Bad, cold, and snowy weather, which lasted for two days.

Thursday. Visited the panorama representing the battle of Alexandria and the death of Abercrombie. This may be well done, but to me it gave no pleasure. It must be either a more scientific or fashionable man to admire this painting, — it appears to me confusion without design, — and wholly to trace the actual position of the armies and comprehend their situation and manœuvres, also the face of the country; all which it is said to exhibit tolerably well.

Friday. Visited the Academy of Arts and their casts, with the Museum. These are good imitations, it is said, and they appear to show talent. Their originals must be wonderful specimens of ancient sculpture and of the progress of the arts. The Museum is not worth mentioning.

The progress of this city is, as usual, beyond all calculation, — seven hundred buildings erected the last twelve months; and Broadway, beyond all dispute, is the best street for length, width, position, and buildings in America. Foreigners say few in Europe exceed it. The people are rich, live well, and fashionable, by no means handsome, mostly of Dutch extraction. Their mode of business and their talents, by comparison with other cities, in my opinion, suffer. They have not so much information so generally diffused as the New England States have, and their present paucity of characters to fill their offices shows it. Mr. De Witt Clinton⁴ is the head of the ruling party in this State, and this is proof enough to any person open to conviction.

¹ Undoubtedly Rufus King, the celebrated Federalist leader. — Eds.

² Brother-in-law of Mr. Morris. — Eds.

³ In 1809, at the age of fifty-seven, Mr. Morris married Anne Cary, daughter of Thomas Randolph, of Virginia. See Sparks's Life, vol. i. p. 494. — Eds.

⁴ De Witt Clinton, who had been for a short time in the Senate with Mr. Mason, was now mayor of the city of New York. Eight years later the Federalists supported him as candidate for President against Mr. Madison. — Eds.

Sunday. At Mrs. Avery's, opposite the Battery. Have been delighted with the display of vessels bound to sea as they have passed in succession. Six ships have been near the Battery at one and the same time, not one hundred yards from the window. They must all pass in review in order to fall down to the Hook.

Dined on Friday with Mr. King; Judge Benson,¹ Mrs. Low, and Mr. Murray, etc., present. We had here a great portion of society, — less etiquette, of course.

Monday. Dined with Mr. Mumford,² Mr. S. Jones, Jr.,³ and Mr. Ledyard present; and in the evening attended the play. Mr. Cooper⁴ played "Macbeth," a *chef-d'œuvre*. His talents are really great in that line, but most miserably supported.

Tuesday. Dined at Mr. F. Winthrop's,⁵ a pleasant society and much conviviality. The evening we passed at Mr. Abraham Ogden's,⁶ with still more pleasure and less etiquette. Mrs. Ogden is a favorite in all countries; naturally amiable, and [with] great feminine beauty, unaffected. You here saw the mother at the head of the table, with six or eight children around; her heart literally overflowing with gratitude for these blessings at her period of life. A great deal of affection displayed in this circle. It convinces me that bachelors and old maids are sorry kind of animals. It is the mother of Mrs. Ogden's husband, and the attention they all paid to her convinced me that she was deserving of it.

Wednesday, Nov. 21. Dined with Mr. Rogers;⁷ Mr. and Mrs. King, Mr. and Mrs. Trumbull,⁸ Mrs. Robinson, and [a] number of gentlemen present; a very pleasant day. In the evening at the theatre; play,

¹ Egbert Benson (C. C. 1765), a leading Federalist. He was a Member of Congress, Judge of the Supreme Court of New York, Chief Justice of the U. S. Circuit Court (created in 1801), and President of the New York Historical Society. He died in 1833. — Eds.

² Probably Gurdon Saltonstall Mumford, Member of Congress from New York, 1805–1811. — Eds.

³ Samuel Jones (C. C. 1790), afterwards Chancellor of the State of New York and Chief Justice of the Superior Court of the city of New York. He died in 1853. — Eds.

⁴ Thomas Apthorpe Cooper, an English actor who had considerable reputation as a tragedian at the beginning of this century. He ultimately settled in this country. He died in 1849. See Clapp's Record of the Boston Stage, p. 61. — Eds.

⁵ Francis Bayard Winthrop, an elder brother of the Hon. Thomas Lindall Winthrop of Boston. — Eds.

⁶ Abraham Ogden (C. C. 1793), a merchant of New York, is probably the person referred to. — Eds.

⁷ Mrs. Lamb, in her "History of New York" (vol. ii. p. 522), speaks of "the distinguished merchant brothers Fitch, Henry, Moses, and Nehemiah Rogers, three of whom founded three great mercantile houses in New York." — Eds.

⁸ Probably John Trumbull, the painter, now residing in New York. He was an intimate friend of Mr. Mason's. See his Autobiography, p. 245. — Eds.

"Jane Shore,"— Lord Hastings, Cooper ; Mrs. Melmoth,¹ Alicia ; and Mrs. Johnston, Jane Shore. I see not many handsome ladies in this city, most of them comely ; but the inhabitants generally cannot be said to be handsome. They live well and are hospitable. They are wealthy ; they feel conscious of all their advantages, and they rate them full high. There are a great many young men in the city, but not disposed to matrimony.

Thursday, Nov. 22. Dined at Judge Benson's, and the evening at Mr. Oliver Kane's, with a brilliant party of ladies and gentlemen, and among them Mr. Thomas Morris² and lady.

Friday, Nov. 23. Dined at Mr. King's ; and the evening, the play, "Hamlet."

Saturday. At Governor [?] Crawford's ; Mr. and Mrs. Robinson. Pleased with him ; she is much too indifferent to have admirers, upon whom she has no claims save those of wealth.

Sunday, 25th. Passed the evening with Mr. Mumford and his lady pleasantly.

Monday, 26th. Dined with J. R. Livingston ;³ prettily entertained. This day about eight hundred militia in uniform, in celebration of the evacuation of the city by the British troops. They made a soldier-like appearance, but I do not think equal to the volunteer companies of Boston, but superior to our militia. They are made up of the draymen and the mechanics in general. They were reviewed by the mayor of the city. I am more and more convinced that we live as comfortably, as conveniently, as generously, and as sumptuously as our neighbors, and we manage our commercial and fiscal operations as well.

I received a polite card from the Corporation to their public dinner on this day ; but being engaged with my family, I declined it. The weather has been uncommonly fine, as mild as August, and the roads as good as in that month. One day may reverse this scene and all our comforts in travelling ; but we set our faces against misfortune. Purchased a head of General Hamilton and sent it to Boston. Was fortunate enough to hear of the arrival of the "Pembroke" at New York, one hour previous to my departure.

Tuesday Evening. Wrote to T. Perkins, mentioning the head of Hamilton which I had sent, and the arrival of the "Pembroke," and put it in the Brunswick post-office.

Wednesday, 28th. Still finer day ; rode this day forty miles to Trenton, through a pleasant, pretty country ; fine orchards and good wheat in many places. Anna left at Brown's, Woodbridge, a pair of gold earrings.

¹ A celebrated actress in her day. She died in New York in 1823. — Eds.

² Thomas Morris, Member of Congress from New York, 1801-1803. — Eds.

³ John R. Livingston, a brother of Chancellor Livingston. — Eds.

Thursday. The weather still continues as good, and with ease we rode into Philadelphia by three o'clock. Stopped at Mrs. Lawson's, but could not be accommodated to my mind, and accordingly removed to Mrs. Jones's, between Seventh and Eighth Streets. The country round astonishingly improving, and a very fine turnpike, finished for thirteen miles and intended for Trenton.

Friday. Passed the evening at G[eorge] Harrison's; called at the Museum with my daughters, and passed the day generally in receiving visits and rambling [about] the city. Received letter from Mr. Perkins, and one from Susan and Jonathan.¹ Wrote to Ann Barry and Mr. Perkins.

Monday. Visited the Hospital and Philosophy Hall. Invited to tea by R. Peters² and lady, but engaged to dine by T. Willing³ and lady.

Tuesday. Passed the evening at Mr. Dallas's,⁴ — a Kent, so called. Mrs. Cadwallader, Miss Biddle, and Miss Bird, with a Mr. Miller, sang glees and catches and trios to admiration.

Wednesday. Dined with Mr. Dallas, and passed the evening at theatre.

The increase of this city is still astonishing. I am persuaded, though the citizens deny it, that they do not trade so much or so well as New York, and that their commercial capital is lessening; yet having been in the habit of building for several years past, the masons and carpenters and tradesmen from their past earnings are able and obliged to employ their journeymen and themselves in putting up houses for rent and sale. There is not a gentleman in the city that has built this year past, and yet whole squares have been covered during that time; five hundred houses the last year. The circle and the beauty of ladies of New York bear no comparison with this city. I am repeatedly reminded of this observation. The ladies here resemble their city; pretty, regular, and refined. Their beaux must be imported, for at this moment they are only as one to five in numbers, and [as] ordinary as they are scarce. I can say nothing in behalf of the young men who are growing up. Their scarcity gives them advantages which they do not improve. A stranger passing through does not hear of politics. The

¹ Jonathan Mason, Mr. Mason's younger son, and a well-known and much-respected citizen of Boston, died Feb. 21, 1884, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. — Eds.

² Richard Peters, the first Judge of the U. S. District Court for Pennsylvania. He died in 1828. — Eds.

³ Thomas Willing, a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia, and a prominent politician. He died in 1821, aged eighty-nine. — Eds.

⁴ Alexander James Dallas, afterwards Secretary of the Treasury, and father of George Mifflin Dallas, Vice-President of the United States and Minister to Great Britain. He died in 1817. — Eds.

Federalists are beaten and out of date and conversation. There is a third party who are opposing Governor McKean,¹ and who will finally overthrow him. Next month the four Judges of the Supreme Court — men of respectability, integrity, and talent, gray in the service of their country — are to be tried upon an impeachment for having acted oppressively in punishing a Republican for contempt of court.² This State [is] under the control of ignorance and Jacobinism. If it changes, it must be for the better, and perhaps it may be the first to let a little blood.

Visited the gunboats which are building. What they are and what they are for, nobody seems to know. They apologize for that evident enmity which the Southern people possess to a navy. Their day must be short; and the growth of this country and its demands, in a very few years, will scout all such feeble puerile performances. A navy must grow out of our woods, and ride in our harbors, or our trade will not be protected and our country forever insulted. We are verging fast to that state of things when there must be a new mixture, and out of which will come new combination, perhaps energetic, stable, and with the properties of durability.

Thursday. Dined with Mr. G. Harrison, and passed the evening very pleasantly at the assembly. Again reminded, by the presence of many lovely women, of their superiority, in beauty, affability, and manners, to those of New York. A man would suppose that where so much worth was so visible, there would be more matrimony, but the reverse is true; and among many, one cause is the dress and extravagant ideas of the ladies themselves. The generality of young men of our country are not able to support the rank and grade which the ladies assume, particularly in dress; and they are so easy of access, so naked in their charms, that they destroy and satiate desire where they would wish to enkindle it.

Friday. Dined with Mr. Breck,³ and passed the evening there. A very large set of ladies and gentlemen in the evening, with good music.

Saturday. Dined with Mr. Richard Willing, and passed the evening at Mrs. Jackson's. The fine women of this city are, in the estimation of the young gentlemen, Miss Willcox, Miss Boardley, Miss Keene, Miss Stewart. There are innumerable pretty ones, but not all of them accomplished. To do common justice, there are many and more than

¹ Thomas McKean, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, and Governor from 1799 to 1808; a warm supporter of Jefferson. He died in 1817, aged eighty-three. — Eds.

² They were tried before the Senate of Pennsylvania in January, 1805, and acquitted; the prosecution failing to secure the requisite two-thirds vote. — Eds.

³ Samuel Breck, formerly of Boston, who survived till 1862, when he died at the age of ninety-one. His *Reminiscences*, edited by Mr. H. E. Scudder, were published in 1877. — Eds.

enough to make society happy and sought after, — many more than in any city in America.

Sunday. Dined with Mr. Thomas Butler, and passed the evening with Mrs. Edwards and Miss Clarkson; prettily entertained at both these places. Their tea-parties abound with ladies and good music, duets and trios, with young gentlemen and ladies. Mr. Nicholas and Mr. Miller two of the finest singers I have for a long time heard, perhaps not equalled since the days of Captain Phillips. This evening also much gratified with the society of Mrs. Izard, or the Widow Shippen, whose prophecy and dream that in the course of her life she should have eighteen feet of husband has come to pass, her third and present husband making, with the two preceding ones, eighteen [feet] three inches.

Monday. Disappointed of all invitation (having refused several) in expectation of attending a splendid party (dance) at the Marquis Casa Yrujo's,¹ to which we had been early invited. The ambassador himself waited upon us; but the lady (Miss Sally McKean that was) expected the first compliment of [a] call from Mrs. Mason, to which I could not consent, — in my estimation it being etiquette false, foolish, and assumed. We accordingly gave up her party and attended the theatre.

Tuesday. Dined with Mr. Paul Siemen, a bachelor, who gave a splendid entertainment to a party of ladies and gentlemen in compliment to Mrs. M——. We passed the beginning [of] the evening with our friend Harrison, and after supper went to a private dance given by the Miss Gratzes, three pretty and accomplished Jewesses.

On Wednesday morning, in a snow-storm not troublesome, we left the city of Philadelphia, in company with Mr. Goldsborough² and his lady, Mr. and Mrs. Steel, and their two daughters. These two families, polite and agreeable, had been our companions at Mrs. Jones's from our first entrance to the city. We lodged together at Christiana, and on Thursday morning separated with great reluctance, — they for the town of Cambridge, in Dorset [Dorchester] County, on the Choptank River, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and we for Baltimore. They had uniformly been very assiduous and equally successful in pleasing me and mine; and their invitations to see them on our return were pressing and, I believe, sincere. I am at present much prejudiced in their favor, and have much desired to see them and their Eastern Shore.

¹ The Marquis D'Yrujo, Spanish Minister to the United States, married a daughter of Governor McKean of Pennsylvania. Their son the Duke of Sotomayor became prime minister of Spain. — Eds.

² Charles W. Goldsborough was Member of Congress, 1805-1817, and Governor of Maryland, 1818-1819. This may have been he. — Eds.

We jogged on to Baltimore, cold but without accident. At Havre de Grace we feasted upon the canvas-back in perfection. We were agreeably surprised here by the arrival of our friend Mr. William Crafts¹ in the stage, with letters from our friends from Boston. They were all well. But there is no pleasure without its alloy; he brought to us the afflicting intelligence of the death of Bishop Parker.² Alas, poor man! his honors were yet green upon him; elected to that honor only four months since, he has been summoned to another tribunal, leaving behind him a widow and thirteen children. He may be said literally to have left nothing of this world's goods behind him but his sermons and his cassock. He who feeds the ravens will be a father to this widow and her orphan children.

On Friday we arrived at Baltimore without anything interesting in country, prospect, or occurrence worthy recording. The country to the very suburbs is the poorest I ever saw in my life, not habitable and not inhabited excepting by those who cannot live anywhere else. Supped with our friend Crafts, who has engaged to provide us lodgings at Charleston.

Friday. This evening still continues snowing, and induces us to acknowledge and repeat our great good fortune in arriving at this moment, when the roads have been so excellent. . . .

Saturday. Extremely stormy and tempestuous the whole day, but on Sunday an entire change of weather. The morning opened with an unclouded sky and a bright sun,—cold and clear, promising better weather and the continuance of good roads. Dined this day with Luther Martin, Esq.,³ and passed an hour in the evening with my good friend Bishop Carroll.⁴

Monday. Paid to Bishop Carroll three hundred and fifty dollars, moneys received for him from the Rev. Mr. Chevreuse [Cheverus] at Boston. . . .

Tuesday. Dined with Colonel Howard.⁵

Wednesday. Dined with Mr. Cook, and passed the evening with Mr. Sherlock.

¹ William Crafts (H. C. 1805), afterwards a distinguished member of the Charleston Bar. He died in 1826. — Eds.

² Dr. Samuel Parker, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, and the second bishop of Massachusetts, died Dec. 6, 1804, having only been consecrated on the 14th of the previous September. — Eds.

³ The celebrated lawyer and Democratic politician. He died in 1826. — Eds.

⁴ Dr. John Carroll, the first Roman Catholic bishop in the United States, consecrated at Lulworth Castle in England in 1790. He died in 1815. For an account of Mr. Chevreuse, or Cheverus, afterwards a Cardinal, see Memorial History of Boston, vol. iii. p. 516. — Eds.

⁵ Colonel John Eager Howard, a Revolutionary soldier and distinguished Federalist, had been in the Senate with Mr. Mason. He died in 1827. — Eds.

Thursday. Breakfasted with Colonel Rogers,¹ dined with Mr. [Robert] Gilmor, and passed the evening with Mrs. S. Smith.²

Friday. Dined with Mr. Thompson, and by desire passed the evening there also.

In the course of this week we have received the attentions of almost the whole city, and also marks of great hospitality. This place is growing in extent, in wealth, and in luxury. They live in splendor, though their houses from bad management are cold and uncomfortable. Like to New Yorkers and the Philadelphians, [and] perhaps the Bostonians, they are well pleased with themselves, their city, and its prospects. Nothing can be equal to it; and they suffer you, with great *sang-froid*, to tell them so. They swallow flattery as they do their food, — with a good appetite. They are not so refined in their manners as the Philadelphians, more so than the New Yorkers. They have many handsome women, enough for any man of reflection to lament the scarcity of young men to match with them; it appears as though three fourths must be maids, and old ones. They appear to be of all nations, kindred, and tongues. They are well-bred, hospitable, and social. Their city will be handsome, but their country round barren and unpleasant. One side, however, which is filled and diversified with country-seats, is an exception. Hill and dale and prospect, and ground made fruitful by great expense, with woods, make this extremely pretty. Colonel Rogers's situation, in particular, is beautiful, and great taste displayed both in the building and the grounds. . . .

Very much like Boston, the city, as a city, has not much to amuse a traveller. The library and assembly-room is [are] resorted to as clever in their kind. Unquestionably, however, their dispositions and their opportunity to gratify their disposition will, in time, enlarge and ornament their city with public buildings that shall have style, grandeur, and expense to recommend them.

We left Baltimore on Saturday, the 22d of December, and as fine a day as could be chosen to travel in. We rode with great ease to Annapolis, thirty-three miles before sunset, much pleased with the prospect, which small hill and dale covered with firs and pines will most commonly produce. Now and then pleasant openings, and always good road. We arrived at Caton's Tavern, and our first impressions were received from what we here experienced, — the remains of ancient prosperity. Baltimore has, by its trade and commercial advantages, totally destroyed this place; and nothing but the seat of government

¹ Colonel Nicholas Rogers, died in 1822. His beautiful estate near Baltimore, referred to farther on, was purchased from his son Lloyd Nicholas Rogers, in 1860, for a public park, now known as Druid Hill Park. — Eds.

² General Samuel Smith was United States Senator from Maryland from 1808 to 1815. — Eds.

and six or seven ancient independent families keep it from being wholly deserted. Such also was the tavern, — a large house, indicative of former times, large glass (all of them patched and broken), creaking windows, and broken-panelled doors; innumerable servants, and yet no attendance, filthy and ragged. And such also was the general appearance of every building in this place, — no fences, decayed court-yards, hogs in their gardens, and universal *finale*. The place is upon the Chesapeake, beautifully situated, and in summer and spring the climate fine. They have a handsome State-House, costly, but not agreeable to rule or proportion. They have also a college,¹ dwindled into a bad grammar-school. I saw at their church [St. Anne's] on Sunday, a fine day, just twenty-two persons and a parson.

On Sunday, 23d, we dined with Mr. Charles Carroll² and his family, consisting of Mr. Caton and lady and four daughters, Mr. Harper³ and lady, a Mr. Lloyd,⁴ Mr. Low, and the celebrated Miss Wheeler of Norfolk. We were received and entertained with great hospitality and splendor, and the day in every respect exceeded our expectations. Mrs. Caton and Mrs. Harper both treated us with the lady-like, polite deportment, and we are equally indebted to Mr. Harper for his attentions. Miss Wheeler is accomplished and informed, mistress of two or three languages, musician, and with much acquirement; but she is learned and stiff in her manner, and not so handsome as expectation had portrayed her. She is precise, and verging towards thirty. She is an accomplished girl, but not a lovely one. She courts your attentions; and to please, you must admire, and say so.

Sunday Evening. Snowed considerably, but not so bad as to prevent our leaving Annapolis on Monday morning and arriving late in the evening, through a tedious road and barren country, at Washington at the house of my old friend Mr. James Barry, where we were welcomed by Mr., Mrs., and Anna and Mary Barry.

On Tuesday morning [Christmas day] I waited upon the President and Vice-President⁵ to escape censure, and attended afterwards at the Catholic Church at Georgetown. We passed a week at this hospitable mansion, witnessing daily the most marked and flattering tokens of

¹ St. John's College. — Eds.

² Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, the last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Three of his granddaughters, the daughters of the Mr. Richard Caton here mentioned, married English peers, — the Marquis Wellesley, Lord Stafford, and the Duke of Leeds. — Eds.

³ Robert Goodloe Harper (Coll. N. J. 1785), the distinguished Maryland lawyer and statesman, married a daughter of Mr. Carroll. He died in 1825. — Eds.

⁴ The Lloyds have long been one of the wealthiest and most influential families on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. James Lloyd was United States Senator from 1797 to 1800, and Edward Lloyd from 1819 to 1826. — Eds.

⁵ Jefferson was now President, and Aaron Burr Vice-President. — Eds.

their hospitality and friendship. They were unremitted in their desires to prolong our stay and to make it agreeable.

On Wednesday evening, January 2 [1805], we passed the evening with Mrs. Peters, and once again realized her friendly professions. Mrs. Peters is really a fine woman. We here also saw a sister of Ann Stewart's by the name of Ariadne Stewart, — *pas grand' chose*. January 1, New Year's day, a large fall of snow, and for three or four days after as extreme cold as I ever felt it in Boston. Every river near and round this country was frozen sufficiently for carriages to pass and repass; and for three nights successively water has frozen in our rooms, though a fire has been in the same chamber.

Thursday, Jan. 3. Crossed the ferry at Georgetown, taking with us my friend Ann Barry; and such was the extreme severity of the weather that we were obliged to lay by at Alexandria the succeeding day. Visited Mrs. Deblois's in the evening, agreeable to invitation, and politely received among the beaux and belles of Alexandria. We had intended to have visited Mount Vernon and Mr. Lewis's; but so deep was the snow and ice that we concluded it would be best to proceed on, and accordingly, on Saturday, January 5, we parted with Ann with tears and regret, and made our first stage at Colchester. We lodged at Dumfries, a small village, but nothing worthy of remark.

This day, Sunday, we have passed on, and are now at Fredericksburg in a dirty inn by the name of Estis, — at the Columbian Inn. The house is full of slaves, and nobody is served or attended to. The country hitherto gives no entertainment to the travel; without soil, without houses, you see nothing but hills, barren, interspersed with pines, a few negro huts, and a solitary road through a country without fences and without cultivation. At Washington we obtained of Stewart [Stuart], the celebrated painter, a promise to paint two of my girls; and with the intercession of Joseph Russell and Dr. Eustis,¹ he finished the heads of Anna and Miriam, and flattered them with perfect likenesses.² Washington City is as it has been; it does not improve, and is filled with dissensions. It is hated as a rival by Georgetown and Alexandria, who with equal cordiality hate each other. Every mean, base passion is displayed in the conduct of these different parts of the same district to each other, in their government and their matters of police, insomuch it would puzzle wiser heads than Congress to legislate for them with wisdom. It will end in secession or a legislature for Columbia. Poor

¹ William Eustis, at this time a Member of Congress, afterwards Secretary of War, and one of the few Democratic Governors of Massachusetts. He died while holding that office, in 1825. — Eds.

² These portraits are now in the possession, respectively, of Mr. Grant and of Mrs. William Amory. From a memorandum in the diary it appears that Mr. Mason paid two hundred dollars for the two. — Eds.

Judge Chase was on the anvil. He made his appearance at the bar of the Senate without a chair or a table. He was obliged to ask for both; he asked also for time until the first day of the next session, and they have assigned the 4th of February next to immolate him. Unfortunately for this man, his manner is arbitrary and ungracious; he always wanted the *suaviter*, and he has no friends but those who are friends to his cause. The man is not beloved; and he will fall without tears, though not without remark.¹

Monday, Jan. 7, 1805. After leaving Fredericksburg, situated as it is beautifully upon the Rappahannock, which you pass by means of a bridge from Falmouth, we proceeded early in the morning for the Bowling Green, and from thence, the remainder of the day, to T. Sutton's, in Caroline County, thirty-four miles through a fine country,—very fine roads, sandy, and without the hills between Dumfries and Fredericksburg. We have scarcely ascended a hill to-day. The country very well cultivated, and many very large plantations. The holly and the pride of India very plenty, growing in the open air. On a plantation, a few days since, some of the negroes refused the orders of the overseer; and he shot one, wounded another, and a third drowned himself,—the blessed effects of slavery.

Tuesday, Jan. 8. Proceeded on in the morning, and reached Richmond in the afternoon. We searched in vain for three hours for a place to sit down in. Though four taverns in the town, they are all crowded and full, and we finally were obliged to put up in a private house for the night, and sleep on the floor. This was occasioned by the session of the legislature, and the meeting of the stockholders of the Virginia Bank, from all parts of Virginia. With nothing to do at home, they flock to Richmond in search of news and variety.

Wednesday, Jan. 9. Were admitted by special favor into the Eagle Tavern, and in the evening were introduced to a public ball, given by the members of the Legislature to the ladies of Richmond, by his Excellency Governor Page² and his lady, having previously taken tea at Mrs. McKenzie's.

Friday. Dined with Mr. Giliat, and were prettily entertained. On Thursday it rained excessively the whole day, and confined us to the house.

Saturday. Dined with Mr. Gallego, and in the evening at Governor Page's.

¹ Samuel Chase of Maryland, Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States from 1796 till his death in 1811, had been impeached by the Democratic House of Representatives for alleged misconduct on the bench. His manners were especially complained of. He was acquitted; a majority of the Senators, but not the requisite two-thirds, voting for conviction. — EDS.

² John Page, Governor of Virginia, 1802–1805. He died in 1808, aged sixty-five. — EDS.

Sunday, 13th. Dined with Mr. Giliat. Saturday we passed over the basin of the canal to view the water descending in torrents over the falls of the river. This town is most beautifully situated, very much resembling that of Boston,—much the finest site in Virginia. The State House is handsome,—a model, though imperfect, of the Temple of Minerva. They have a large building, ornamental and of stone, as a public warehouse for the reception of tobacco, a penitentiary of still larger size, and a public armory. The canal is the great friend and promoter of this place. It brings by the falls all the produce of the upper country, and with little more expense will carry it by locks down to the heavy vessels at tide-water. Some of the society in Richmond is really good; the ladies well bred and well educated. There is much hospitality; but in manners the gentlemen are far, very far, behind the ladies. From the use of coal and the tribes of negroes their labor is badly managed, and their city wears the appearance of filth and dirt. The coarse, affected Republican manners, which set at defiance education and decency, seem to be overspreading the country. Is it prejudice, or are not the Northern States one hundred years in advance of this country in convenience of living, in civility of manner, and in the art of passing life with happiness, equality, and affection? Their houses in general are badly constructed for winter, and badly provided. You are oftentimes frozen in a warm climate, and every winter colder in Richmond than in Quebec. The slaves of this country are its curse; their nature, their manners, their disposition, and even their color operate upon society wherever they abound. The citizens live in fear, and [to] avert the evil, to lessen the danger, and to thin their population, employs the time and expense of the Government annually. Commerce is fast increasing, and the profits of their trade will soon show themselves in an extension of their city and in fine houses. James River is a source of wealth, and requires only industry and the use of it to give to every adventurer wealth. But their government is purely democratic; talent and even principle seem to have retired. Ignorance, prejudice, jealousy, and every envious passion are making their appearance in their slow but sure operations, and the result is known only above. The poor Federalist is poor indeed; his voice is no more heard, and he lives only at the mercy of his enemies. Still power and influence is in motion. The first Republicans are fast moving from their seats to give place to those more violent, and will suffer perhaps more conspicuously than those now deemed Federalists until government becomes anarchy, and anarchy from necessity becomes again a government. I think this State, in this revolutionary circle, is equally forward with any State in the Union.

Monday, 14th. Dined with Colonel Gamble; *Tuesday, 15th,* with Mr. Wickham;¹ *Wednesday, 16th,* with William McKenzie.

¹ John Wickham, a distinguished lawyer of Richmond, who afterwards rose

Wednesday Morning. Visited the Armory, a large elegant brick building for the manufacture of arms; and it was in excellent order, — great specimen of skill and industry. It employs about one hundred men, who work by the musket, and is carried on by water from the canal. It is oftentimes astonishing to the traveller to see at once the aggregate of many years' invention and of different men, witnessed in this very manufactory, and also in a flour-mill, belonging to a Mr. Rutherford, which we also passed through and viewed. The wheat is received into a large funnel from the wagon, where it is weighed; from thence, by water, it is carried backwards and forwards up to the garret and back again into all parts of the building, in every kind of shape, heated and cooled until it is completely changed into flour, and ready for the barrel, and it is there packed by the same power. Their Penitentiary is another very beautiful public building, planned by Mr. Latrobe; and it is now full, with probability of increase. They have also handsome stone buildings, owned by the State, for the reception of tobacco. The penitentiary and its principle is [are] not popular, and I think [they] will be abolished in June. Their canal is profitable, and will finally be locked to the Rockets, so called, — the tide-water.

Thursday, Jan. 17. Left this very hospitable town for Petersburg, and with a beautiful day, extremely mild, we arrived at Petersburg about six o'clock. Wretched roads, and through a miserable country. Petersburg is situated upon the Appomattox River, and pleasantly, though not equal to Richmond. The village is flourishing, though principally wood. It is checked in its growth, owing to its being under the control of a single individual by the name of Bowling, who owns the fee of the whole town and as far on all sides as the eye can reach. He rents a vast number of houses and lots; the remaining land upon ground rents. The trade is increasing, and they have a branch bank of the mother State bank at [of] Virginia. Very much indebted we were [at Richmond] to the families of Gallego, Scot, and Giliat, and Mr. McKenzie. They gave us their society the whole week, and filled us with good things at our departure.

Friday, Jan. 18. Extreme bad weather, and Mrs. Mason being indisposed we rested, and the next morning, it having cleared away and frozen the whole country by its severity, we began our motions, and lodged at the house of a Mr. Stark, a man who had seen much better days. Both he and his wife mingled with their present occupation much civility and dignity of manners, in no way restrained or distant, but familiar, properly so, and hospitable. We were comfortable and refreshed, and about nine on Sunday left it for the next stage, which was Ruffin's; and without any disparagement to the last, I could say

to the leadership of the Virginia Bar. Harvard College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1825. He died in 1839. — Eds.

that both man and wife were really well bred and elegant in their manners. We had every little rarity, such as pies, quinces, etc., and in half an hour left them, with sincere regret that it was not consistent with our plans to stay longer. We lodge this evening, Sunday, the 20th, at Drummond's; a good house and a rich man, — one who has taken up this mode of life as appurtenant to other views. He also owns the line of stages to Raleigh; he has one or two other plantations, and is a wealthy planter. He reminds me of Holmes at the Bowling Green; he wants his country travelled through, and he is ambitious of its good name. From Petersburg here, nothing can be said in favor [of] the soil, the prospect, or the roads; they are all execrable.

Wednesday, 23d. Now at Raleigh, one hundred and fifty miles distant from Petersburg; and for three days past experienced as cold weather as I ever did at Boston. At Warrenton the water in every bowl and basin in the house, in rooms with large fires, froze solid during the night. The oldest inhabitants never experienced a colder night. The roads as bad as possible, and their houses literally comfortless, from the slight manner they are built, and the scandalous inattention to their windows, which in every instance have more or less panes of glass out. The country on the road affords nothing at which the traveller can either amuse or inform himself with. One continued wood of pines and oaks, with here and there a spot miserably cultivated, and a few log houses of the very worst structure. They live miserably, and where you meet a collection of houses, say ten or twelve wretched hovels, you are sure to meet a gambling-tavern, and a parcel of idle vagabonds. Louisburg,¹ at Greenhill's, is a striking proof. Warrenton is an exception; though small, it is flourishing, and there were many gentlemen who carried the marks of civility and politeness.

The line between North Carolina and Virginia seems [to be] about two miles on the eastern side of Eaton's Ferry upon the Roanoke. Raleigh is a miserable place, nothing but a few wooden buildings and a brick Court House, built for the accommodation of the Government, who hold their sessions here.

From Raleigh we proceeded in the morning, and rode thirty-nine miles to Mrs. Smith's, having passed a ferry at Cape Fear River, three miles before we reached Mrs. Smith's. This river, five days before we passed it, by the great rains and snow had risen and fallen twenty-five feet in thirty-six hours. On our road through the woods we were put into spirits and delighted with the sight of a flock of deer passing the road about one hundred yards in front of us. In general, no country in the world ever afforded so small an opportunity for information or amusement as this [does] from Richmond or Petersburg to this place, and I am told [it is] more ordinary still until we arrive at Georgetown.

¹ In North Carolina. — Eds.

Friday, 25th. We set out in a thunder-storm for Fayetteville, and rode for four hours in the most severe showers and heaviest thunder I ever heard at this season. . . . We reached Fayetteville by one o'clock. I was waited upon by Mr. W. Barry Grove¹ and his sister; his lady being nearly being confined. He invited us to dinner on the morrow, which was accepted. The less I say of Fayetteville the better. It is, however, rather superior to Raleigh. It is a small wooden settlement within three quarters of a mile of Cape Fear River, navigable for small boats; and *small* boats will answer for the produce of this market.

The only valuable thing I have seen in this [region] is the lightwood, which is the pitch pine after the turpentine has been extracted. They use it for the purpose of lighting their fires. It blazes *instantly*, like a candle, and until the wood is perfectly consumed. They burn all their wood in a green state; and this is absolutely necessary, and at the same time completely answers the purpose.

They marry astonishingly early, the females oftentimes at fourteen years. The landlady of the house I now occupy, Mrs. Pitman, told me herself that she married at twelve years and two months old. She had a child, which she showed me, before she was fourteen; her husband died, and she was married to her present husband before fifteen. She is now in her twenty-fifth year, with a boy eleven years of age, and three other children. She looks like an old woman.

We dined on Saturday with Mr. Grove; was entertained with great hospitality and politeness, and was invited to dine this day (Sunday) with J[ohn] Hay, Esq., a celebrated lawyer, but the inclemency of the storm which still rages, from Friday last, prevented my acceptance of this invitation.

Monday, Jan. 28. We left Fayetteville, and arrived on the 1st of February at Georgetown,² distant one hundred and thirty miles, through a country a dead flat, presenting without the least variety one uniform appearance of pine barren. Pine upon pine, saving only a straight solitary road as far as the eye can reach; with miserable huts of houses and still more miserable owners scattered about one in ten or twelve miles. The astonishment excited is, how these shiftless beings pass through life. They are all surrounded with a set of negroes, naked, and more miserable and helpless than themselves, — rags that the meanest beggar would not pick out of the streets they are clad in. They do not even regard modesty in either sex, and oftentimes you see them totally deprived of clothes. The weather was remarkable, equal to the April and May months in New England. The woods full of ever-greens; and we had no occasion for muffs or outside clothes during the

¹ William Barry Grove, Member of Congress from North Carolina, from 1791 to 1803. — Eds.

² In South Carolina. — Eds.

five days of our journey. At Georgetown we saw green peas growing in Mr. Trapier's ground, and so high as to be stuck with fagots to support them; also large myrtles. The difficulties of food are great; we oftentimes had little or nothing to eat, and fortunate for us the weather was good, for we never laid down to rest in any room where we could not see the sky through a thousand cracks; and in all cases the window glass is broken almost every pane. All this, however, is still of no consequence compared to some difficulties in the road, such as swamps, creeks, and lowlands, covered with water, and the road made by rails and posts, and not half made. We passed through Ashpole Swamp with the waters up to the belly of the horses for an half of a mile, so high that the pole bridges themselves were under the water. This swamp is situated about eight miles beyond Widow Rowland's, and two miles beyond the line of North Carolina. The most dangerous place was on the north side of the Great Pedee, where for a mile we passed through a swamp, travelling through the water, which in many cases went to the backs of our horses, where they would frequently attempt to swim, and the water all the time flowing in the bottom of our carriage. In the midst of this difficulty we were called to encounter a bridge, one half of which was carried away. We were obliged to stop, take out horses, get out ourselves, and push the horses off of the bridge, and our servants upon planks push forward the carriage; then retackle, and get in upon planks, while the water was even with the carriage. Indeed, the dangerous part of this terrible swamp cannot be imagined equal to its reality. I wonder myself how we possibly could finally succeed; but we passed, with the help of a guide, without injury either to ourselves or horses. Lynch's Creek, situated five miles from Port's, was equally bad, though not so long; and the waters, happily for us, were so high that they made what they term a long ferry, — that is, the boat came over the creek and came up to the commencement of the water.

Having no fodder for my horses in Georgetown, I determined to leave it, and in the morning set off immediately for Charleston. In the moment of leaving the city, the Miss Hugers waited upon my family and invited them to pass the day; but we were on the move and declined the invitation. Georgetown is prettily situated upon a river that goes to the ocean. It admits of brigs, ships, etc., to the town. The seats around are pleasantly situated, particularly Mr. Trapier's. I passed through it hastily without delivering my letters, but not so soon as to avoid my showing to my girls some beautiful myrtle and oleander trees in the highest perfection and as large as the apple-tree. Orange-trees, also, with oranges upon them, but pinched in some degree by the excessive cold weather.

At the distance of six miles from Georgetown we were met by my

friend Rutledge,¹ and by him, the same evening, carried to Madam Horry's, on the south side of South Santee, at Hampton. We passed the next day, the 3d, at this hospitable mansion. The weather excessively cold, and freezing the water in all the basins and tumblers in the house. This situation is most delightfully variegated by the shape of the grounds and the fine live-oak trees in great abundance, size, and magnificence. It gives you the idea of the cultivated English taste; the seat of wealth, splendor, and aristocracy. The rice fields on the side and in the rear form an extensive flat as far as the eye can reach, and everything you meet upon this plantation carries with it the appearance of a community. You see blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, masons, shoemakers, and everything made and manufactured within themselves. Of four or five hundred negroes, one fifth have trades and follow them. It is a perfect society, of which the owner is absolute lord and master; and such are all the considerable plantations in this country, the incomes of many of whom are one hundred thousand dollars annually; some are known to make upwards of three thousand barrels of rice. Within their houses you meet great hospitality, the polish of society, and every charm of social life; an abundance of food, convenience and luxury. It is impossible but that human nature in such a situation, doing justice to those under him, must feel himself lord of this earth. The mills for cleaning, grinding the rice, and packing of it, upon many of the plantations cost from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars, and are equal to the improvements of the flour-mills in the Middle States. They have complete command of water to overflow and drain their fields at their leisure.

February 4. We passed this day at a place seven miles lower down the Santee, called Eldorado, the seat of Mrs. Mott, the mother-in-law of Major Thomas Pinckney,² and at his request; here we saw the same abundance, the same affluence, and a plantation equal in its size. In digging a ditch we saw one hundred and eighty negroes at work, men and women. They were well clothed, appeared healthy and happy; and I am well convinced, where they are well treated, they live ten times happier than any of their color in their own country. Much depends upon the owner; if they are miserly, parsimonious, or bad-tempered in grain, woe betide the slave!

We were extremely happy at both of these plantations, and certainly met with great hospitality and true politeness. We returned to Madam

¹ John Rutledge, son of Chief Justice Rutledge, and Member of Congress from South Carolina from 1797 to 1803. He died in 1819, aged fifty-three. — Eds.

² Thomas Pinckney, younger brother of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and, like him, educated in England. He was a Major in the Revolutionary Army, Governor of South Carolina in 1787-1789, and Member of Congress from 1799 to 1801. He died in 1828, aged seventy-eight. — Eds.

Horry's on the 5th, and on the 6th set out for Charleston; the road uncommonly fine. We arrived at the ferry about dusk; but so bad was the weather that we could not finish our journey until the 7th, when we arrived in Charleston about eleven o'clock, in good health and good spirits.

Saturday. Passed the evening with Mr. Ford.¹

Sunday. With Miss Ladsons.

Monday, Feb. 11. Wrote to Dr. Warren.² Passed the evening with Mr. Desaussure.³

Tuesday. With Mr. Desaussure at a picnic, so called. The gentlemen of the town resort to the concert-room, where they dance, play cards, and sup. Their supper is made up of a collection from each other, to which they contribute by each one carrying a dish and a bottle of wine and loaf of bread. We passed a pleasant evening; but the institution has its inconveniences. It is not guarded sufficiently against the admission of improper company; and oftentimes the supper presents a very curious collection, such as eight or ten turkeys, a majority of pies, or some very curious specimen of cookery, — there being no previous understanding among the concerns as to the dishes carried.

Wednesday. Rained all day. Spent this day at the Supreme Court in attending to a cause in which a Mr. Ingraham was concerned, formerly a Bostonian. The talents of the bar were displayed upon this occasion, and Mr. [John Julius] Pringle, Mr. Desaussure, Mr. K[eating Lewis] Simons, Mr. [Thomas] Parker, and Mr. J[ohn] Ward acquitted themselves with great reputation.⁴

Thursday. Visited a vessel at Geyer's Wharf, on board of which were about two hundred Africans, the remnant of a cargo arrived a few weeks since. They appeared healthy, unconcerned, and without intellect or sensibility. It wrung me to the soul to reflect upon the future destinies of the several individuals, and the poor miserable prospects they had presented to them. For what came they into life? They appeared totally insensible to the least regard or concern for each other, upon being sold and leaving the vessel. I saw no one that took the least notice of those he left behind. I saw many of them leave the vessel to return no more, and probably never see the face of one of their fellow-passengers; this without the least emotion on either side. I saw no difference (except in form) between them and an equal number of brutes.

¹ Timothy Ford (Coll. N. J. 1783), a prominent member of the Charleston Bar and partner of Mr. Desaussure. He died in 1831. — Eds.

² Dr. John Collins Warren, of Boston, son-in-law of Mr. Mason. He died in 1856. — Eds.

³ Henry William Desaussure, afterwards Chancellor of the State. He died in 1839. — Eds.

⁴ An interesting account of the Charleston Bar is given by Mr. Charles Fraser in his *Reminiscences of Charleston*, pp. 69, 73. — Eds.

Dined this day with Mr. Frederick Rutledge,¹ and passed the evening at a subscription concert, and ball afterwards. A handsome display of ninety and upwards of ladies, many of them [with] strong pretensions to beauty, and all of them handsome in appearance and agreeable and refined in manners. The music excellent, and everything conducted with much propriety.

Friday. Dined with Mr. Hugh Rutledge,² the Judge in Chancery; and the evening passed with Mrs. and Miss McPherson, at a musical party.

Saturday. Clear and cold; frost, and no fire, which is bad; and an open house, which is worse. The evening with Mr. Cripps and family; an elegant ball and supper.

Monday, 18th. Visited the Orphan House; passed the evening at the play.

Tuesday. Dined with Colonel Morris; passed evening with Major Ladson.

Wednesday. Races; and dined with Jockey Club. Evening at Mr. Desaussure's. Invited to pass the evening with Mr. and Mrs. Wragg; also some Friday evening with Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell; declined, pre-engagement.

Thursday. General McPherson's, dined; evening at the play.

Friday. John Rutledge's, dined; evening, race ball. . . .

Saturday, 23d. Dined with General Pinckney.³ Evening with Mrs. Middleton.⁴

Sunday. Invited to dine with T[homas] Pinckney, Jr.; refused, engaged. . . .

Tuesday. Dined with Mr. Price, and evening at concert for relief of St. Domingo inhabitants. Waltz.

Wednesday. Dined with Governor Hamilton.⁵ In the day a review of General Read's brigade, and in the evening a ball at Mrs. McPherson's. Invited to dine on Thursday next at Mr. Joseph Manigold's [Manigault], but engaged.

Thursday, 28th. Dined with J[ohn] B[ee] Holmes, Esq.

Friday, March 1. Communicated to my family the distressful tidings of the death of Mrs. Perkins's child, and the illness of my respected father-in-law. Here is the end of their society in this place. In payment for past happiness they are now loaded with sorrow and affliction,

¹ Son of Chief Justice Rutledge and son-in-law of Madam Horry. — Eds.

² Brother of Chief Justice Rutledge. — Eds.

³ Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the celebrated Federalist. — Eds.

⁴ Probably the widow of the Hon. Arthur Middleton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, who was residing in Charleston a few years before this. — Eds.

⁵ Paul Hamilton, Governor of South Carolina, 1804-1806, and Secretary of the Navy, 1809-1813. He died in 1816. — Eds.

and are to put on the sable garment of grief; and as though to be deprived of a parent at this distance from him, and in this unexpected moment, were not enough to fill up their cup of woe, they are agonized and wounded, sorely wounded, with the tidings of the death of the only beloved child of their aunt and her sister Anna. Gracious God, thy ways are inscrutable and past finding out! How foolish, how thoughtless, how insane, with such repeated admonitions, to be always unprepared for such dispensations!

March 2, Saturday. Invited to tea by Dr. and Mrs. Ramsay,¹ but declined. . . .

March 4. Heard from home of the continuation of my father-in-law's illness, so as to exclude my family from all society. . . .

March 7. Thursday morning left Charleston in company with General Pinckney to visit Savannah; reached that day the plantation of General Washington;² dined and passed the day with this hospitable man, universally beloved throughout this country for his many virtues, his useful qualities, and his great benevolence. He has served his country during the last war, at the head of a regiment of horse, with great bravery and skill. He treated us with profusion and politeness, and with difficulty we left his house and his entreaties the next morning to progress on our journey. We rode the next day (Friday) to Mr. Price's, twenty-eight miles further; the succeeding day to Colonel Cuthbert's, at Portogallico [Pocotaligo]. On Sunday evening at General Read's, and on Monday at two o'clock we arrived in Savannah. Tuesday, the 12th, we passed in visiting the town, and dined with Mr. Thomas Gibbons,³ and in the society of a very respectable circle of Federalists.

Savannah as a town is increasing, but it has no charms. It is a wooden town on a sand-heap. In walking their streets you labor as much as if you was wading through a snow-bank, with this difference only, — you must walk blindfolded, or your eyes will be put out. It resembles my ideas of the Arabian deserts in a hurricane. No lady walks the roads, and the inhabitants never with pleasure, excepting after a rain; the least breeze of wind moves in clouds the sand through every street, in such abundance and so deep it is that no pavements can be laid either in the centre or sides of the streets. It is bad enough in cold weather, but the citizens exclaim against it in warm. The road to Savannah is extremely fine, though a great sameness throughout. Not

¹ David Ramsay (Coll. N. J. 1765), a prominent physician, and author of a History of South Carolina and of several other works which had a reputation in their day. He died in 1815. — Eds.

² William Augustus Washington, a kinsman of President Washington's and a distinguished cavalry officer during the Revolutionary War. He was made a Brigadier-General in 1798. He died in 1810, aged fifty-eight. — Eds.

³ Thomas Gibbons was appointed Judge of the U. S. District Court for Georgia in 1801, but was probably not at this time on the bench. — Eds.

altogether pines, but oak, hickory, cypress, and birch, with other and various kinds that denote a good soil. The plantations of rice are upon all the rivers, and those of cotton at a small distance from the roads. They live entirely within themselves; many of them extremely well and hospitably.

On Wednesday morning a Mr. Mein called upon me with a note from my friend Rutledge, took me in his curricule to his plantation about twelve miles upon the river; and on Thursday morning, after entertaining us liberally and very handsomely, took my friend Rutledge and myself in his barge over to Union Ferry on the Charleston side, where my horse and chaise was in waiting. Rutledge and myself immediately proceeded, and that evening arrived at Colonel Cuthbert's; the next day we reached the plantation of Colonel Shirvin, and on Saturday, at noon, arrived in Charleston after a pleasant tour of ten days.

The trees were most of them in blossom; and the redbud tree and the yellow jasmine were in great abundance in all the woods, and in all their beauty and fragrance. Most of the bushes and shrubs were evergreens, and interspersed with the wild laurel, the wild orange, and the magnolia tree. One great inconvenience is the distance you are obliged to travel from plantation to plantation, there being few or no taverns of consequence. I rode thirty miles many times, and in one instance forty, without feeding my horse. Their produce, in good seasons, is uncommonly profitable, — as much, in cotton, as three hundred dollars to a hand, and nearly so in rice. They will make thirty per cent upon the real value of their farms in a single season. The ravages and devastation of the late hurricane are beyond description. As you pass the country, especially towards Savannah, you see whole sections of the forest blown down, without a single tree standing. They dread the hurricane and the caterpillar as they would death.

While at Georgia I received a letter from Mr. Desaussure announcing that letters had been received at Charleston mentioning the death of my respected father[-in-law], who, by every account, seems to have left the world without regret, without a single pain, without the least apprehension, and in full possession of his mind; conscious of having done his duty to his fellow-creatures through a long life of seventy-eight years, he resigned it with the strong sense of his own rectitude, and the fullest assurance that he had nothing to fear, but everything to hope for from the mercy and justice of his Maker. His calmness, his philosophy, his judgment, and his conduct during his sickness and his last moments evince a strength of mind and a fortitude which exceeds anything he ever manifested in his health and strength. I have no doubt he will meet the reward of uniform unshaken honesty and uprightness, of great affection and fidelity to his wife and children, and the best dispositions towards man.

Sunday. Dined with Madam Horry and Mr. Frederick Rutledge.

Monday, March 18, 1805. Dined at home with my family. . . .

Thursday. Dined with Mr. Ford; Friday, with Mr. Gabriel Manigault [Manigault]; and Saturday, with Mr. J. Rutledge.

Sunday, March 24. The last day I expect to pass in Charleston; dined with Mr. Desaussure. Received, March 23, an order in my behalf upon the bank at Philadelphia for one thousand dollars.

Monday, March 25. Set off in company with Mr. and Mrs. Desaussure to commence my journey to Boston by way of the Santee Canal. We rode the first day about thirty miles, to Mrs. Edwards's upon Cooper River, after sailing up to Clements's Ferry six miles in a pleasant boat, where we met our carriages, which we had sent on by land, and which had crossed the Cooper to Clements's.

Tuesday, 26th. We spent the day in riding up the canal and viewing the different locks, single and double; and being also so fortunate as to see three or four loaded and as many empty boats pass up and down. In the evening we arrived at the head of the canal at the house of a Mr. Arthopel, the head agent of the canal, placed there by the company. At present this canal is not productive, it having cost upwards of six hundred thousand dollars, and its income does not exceed one thousand dollars per month. It is, however, a growing property, and in future days, with prosperous crops, it must appreciate in value. It now sells at a discount of fifty per cent. It is a very handsome work, and reflects great honor upon the enterprise of the country. It unites the Santee with the Cooper River, and the work with the locks is well executed and durable. The boats will carry at a trip one hundred bags of cotton, and are drawn at the rate of four miles per the hour by a couple of mules driven by a negro on its banks. The canal has seven locks in twenty-one miles, and is higher than the bed of either river, in some places fifty feet, and at the entrance ten in common times. It is supplied by springs and swamps, and one spring in particular, which we saw at a Mr. Maseek's, which was the finest fountain I ever saw. It came from its bottom; it was perfectly clear, and never affected by the severest droughts.

Wednesday the 27th. At the head of the canal we parted with our friends Mr. and Mrs. Desaussure; they for Charleston and we for Statesburg. We crossed the Santee very easily about one o'clock, and arrived at Bimbo's Inn, a clean and good one, about three. We here dined plentifully, and are now thinking of our friends and the changes of a season. I am this moment diverted from my book by the sight of Mrs. Mason giving bread to three tame domesticated deer, — animals perfect of their kind, and some of the most beautiful in creation. From Santee Canal to Manchester, at Mr. Pitts's, where we dined. A very bad road; five miles swamp and causeway, and though not covered with water, a

much worse causeway than the Pedee Swamp. In freshets the water rises three and four feet over this whole causeway, so that it is denominated a long ferry. Changed my Henshaw horse for a horse belonging to Mr. Pitts, and gave him thirty-five dollars in addition. We lodged at Statesburg, a pretty town upon the high hills of Santee, resembling very much the different situations in New England. Some very rich planters of cotton reside in this neighborhood, and the climate is delightful, without yellow or intermittent fevers. We were politely invited to a dance and tea-party of about twenty couples, but declined.

Friday, March 29. Left Statesburg, and had rode but a little distance before we perceived that my horse Nicholson was very sick, and swelled very much. Continued riding, presuming it would heal and relieve him; but his swelling increased, and before we could reach a house he died in the road. As fine and as useful an animal as I ever saw or wished to own. This was occasioned by his overfeeding with corn the preceding night, and drinking a large quantity of water in the morning. Could we have drenched him with sassafras, or any other powerful medicine, we could have saved him; but it was my misfortune to travel at this moment through a country badly settled, and where you must, and we did, ride thirty miles without seeing a house. Through the great importunity of our friends we had taken this road, contrary to our own inclinations, with the design of seeing the Santee Canal. We resisted until we were afraid of giving offence, and finally accepted their offer with the assurance the road [was] equally near, and with better accommodations, all of which we found the reverse. The country generally through which you ride is bad and dreary, poverty-struck, uninhabited; and where there are people they live worse than their cattle, excepting a few independent planters holding slaves, and who live far from the road. Thirty-five miles from Statesburg, after crossing the creek of Lynch so called, we arrived at a miserable hut owned by a Mr. Price; he was eighty-five years of age, and had twenty-four children, the youngest eight years of age. He had had two wives, and eleven of his children were in the house with him. They had land in plenty, without the necessaries of life; they were as dirty as the beasts, and had nothing to give us or anywhere to put us to make us comfortable. Their whole wardrobe was not worth one groat. It had one convenience; they never washed or exchanged it until worn out. We had tea, sugar, and biscuit of our own, which gave us a dish of tea, and with our bed-linen and a bedstead we passed the night without undressing, and with the help of our great-coats. You could have but one passion excited for this family, and that was pity. Had we gone the other way, we must have deviated from our road to have passed a day at Madam Horry's, and another at Major Pinckney's, both which was insisted upon;

so that we were impelled to embrace the offer of Mr. Desaussure and visit the canal, when our first wishes were to take leave of our friends at Charleston and make the best of our way home. . . .

The road to Cheraw Bluff from Statesburg to Mrs. Wilson's very good, though through country poor indeed, and without settlements. This day we have rode thirty miles without refreshing our horses.

Saturday, March 31. Left Greenville,—the name of this long bluff, given in compliment to the late General Greene for his military services in this country,—and rode through a miserable country with a tolerable road, and finally arrived after dark to a miserable log-house by the name of Wilkes. But one room, two beds full of vermin, and not a single thing of any kind to eat or drink; six or seven children crying in the house, and two drunken Scotch neighbors, drinking, reeling, and smoking. Go further we could not; and as we had lately, though badly, dined, we concluded to close our carriage as much as possible, and pass the night in it. The weather was fortunately serene and mild. There were six of us in the carriage, and sleep we could not; the only hope was in daylight, that we could again move forward. After these drunken fellows had talked themselves asleep upon the floor, my family, not being able to stay longer in the coachee, alighted and threw themselves one and all upon a miserable bed in the same room, and sat with patience for an end of such unexpected sufferings. It was really a laughable sight to see persons seeking pleasure in such a hovel; giving up every comfort, flying from home, deserting their relations and friends, and travelling in a distant country for the purpose of finding this miserable abode, and then to be confined and cooped with the refuse of creation, drunk and beastly, deprived of the little understanding God gave to them. Fortunately for us the day at length appeared, and we moved on to the house of Mrs. William Fall, five miles nearer Fayette. The disposition, the cleanliness, and the exertions of this Scotch woman in a house by herself, were all employed in furnishing to us a breakfast that was refreshing, and peculiarly so to us who had been deprived of rest and exhausted for want of sleep. From this place we proceeded for Fayette to the house of Mr. Shepard, where we dined, and considered ourselves once again in a country we were acquainted with.

Tuesday, April 2. Mrs. Smith's, twenty-one miles.

Thursday. Raleigh, Casco.

Friday. Took the stage in order to ease my horses, and rode this day, though rainy, fifty-nine miles to Warrenton. Was pleased with Mark Miatt's house; had a very good dinner provided, and the daughters of his house well-bred and civil. Before sunset reached our destined inn for the night; found that Johnston had left it, and it was filled by a man and wife every way qualified to make it one of the best in the country.

Saturday, April 6. Rode in the stage twenty-eight miles to breakfast,—Drummond's,—and in the evening reached Stark's. After dining plentifully, and I may say elegantly, at Mr. Ruffin's, our supper at Mr. Stark's was equal to our dinner, and the finest punch-bowl of fresh frothy milk in the centre of the table I ever saw. Around it were preserved peaches, quinces, gooseberries, and cherries. Meat of all kinds. This supper would have been a pretty, and, I am sure, a good one in either of the cities. We rode to Petersburg on Sunday, and in the evening were disturbed and frightened,—a set of Scotchmen, clerks and shop-boys, who had dined and passed the day at the tavern, and ended their frolic with gross inebriation, noise, and quarrels sufficient to disturb not only the house but neighborhood.

On Monday, April 8, we hired a coachee and rode to Richmond, and received letters both from Charleston and Boston, which gave us information and pleasure.

The following is a memorandum which Mr. Mason kept of his expenses on this journey:—

[Date.]	[Miles.]	[Innkeeper.]	
6	Dedham	9 Ames.	
	Medfield	9 Clarke . . .	Tolerable \$8.80
7	Bellingham	10 Holbrook . .	do. 0.10
	Mendon	7 Fuller.	
	Uxbridge	6 Reed	do. 0.75
	Turnpikes . . . . .		. . . . . 0.75
	Thompson [Conn.]	9 Manchester .	Very good 10.25
8	Pomfret	11 Sabin . . . .	. . . . . 0.50
	Ashford	11 Palmer . . . .	. . . . . 0.50
	Turnpikes . . . . .		. . . . . 0.60
	Coventry	10 Brigham . . .	Excellent 8.00
9	East Hartford	9 Woodbridge.	. . . . . 0.39
	Turnpikes . . . . .		. . . . . 0.50
	Ferry	9 . . . . .	. . . . . 0.50
	Hartford	1 Lee	Good 14.33
10	Worthington	11 Riley . . . . .	. . . . . 0.25
	Meriden	6 Robinson . . .	. . . . . 0.25
	Wallingford	7 Doolittle . . .	The Child 0.55
	New Haven	10 Butler	Excellent 27.00
12	<i>Monday.</i>	<u>135</u>	
	Stratford	14 Lovejoy . . .	Good 0.25
	Bridge . . . . .		. . . . . Excellent 0.90
	Turnpikes . . . . .		. . . . . 0.58
	Fairfield	8 Penfield . . .	do. 0.75
	Newfield	6	
	Norwalk	6 Stage-house.	Good.
	Stamford	10 Davenport . .	Excellent 10.00
13	Rye [N. Y.]	11 Pinfield . . .	do. <u>1.25</u>
			87.75

[Date.]		[Miles.]	[Innkeeper.]	
	16-Mile Stone	9		\$1.50
14	Wednesday. New York . . .	16	Avery . . . Decent . . .	339.50
	Coachee			12.00
27	Tuesday.			
	Elizabeth Ferry [N. J.] . . .	16		5.00
27	November.			
	Elizabethtown	2	Day's . . . Tolerable . . .	5.00
	Woodbridge	10	Brown's . . . do. . . .	10.00
28	Wednesday.			
	Brunswick	10	Vernon	10.50
	Vantelbuck	15	Kingston	2.25
	Trenton	15	Sutten Herbett and Ferry. Good	12.50
	Thursday			
	Bristol	10	Besouet . . . do. . . .	0.50
	Washington	10	Sign of	2.00
	Turnpikes			1.10
	Philadelphia [Pa.]	10	Mrs. Jones . . . Good . . .	175.00
	Extras			390.00
12	Wednesday.			
	Chester	15	Anderson . . . Good . . .	3.00
	Wilmington [Del.]	12	O'Flans . . . Tolerable . . .	1.50
	Christiana	9	Shannon's . . . Excellent . . .	13.50
	Thursday.			
	Head of Elk [Md.]	12	Richardson . . . Good . . .	0.50
	Havre de Grace	16	Sears	14.90
	Friday.			
	Bushtown	12	Lighthouse . . . Good . . .	0.50
	Red Lion	12	Wharff's . . . Excellent . . .	3.00
	Baltimore	13	Evans's . . . do. . . .	200.00
	Black Horse	22	. . . . .	2.50
	Ferry, five miles from Baltimore, rope			1.14
	Annapolis	10	Caton	36.00
	Washington [D. C.]	40	Stelles' . . . Good . . .	70.00
	Alexandria, over Ferry . . .	11	Gadsby . . . Good . . .	44.00
5	January.			
	Colchester [Va.]	16	Woodward . . . Good . . .	4.51
	Dumfries	10	Williams . . . Good . . .	14.67
6	Stafford Court House	14	. . . . .	2.50
	Fredericksburg	12	Estis	14.33
7	Bowling Green	22	. . . . .	4.00
	J. Sutton	12	. . . . .	10.97
8	Oakes	18	. . . . .	2.00
	Richmond	16	Smoch's . . . Good . . .	185.00
17	Thursday. January.			
	Half-Way House	11	Gregory . . . Tolerable . . .	0.50
	Petersburg	14	Powell's . . . Good . . .	32.00
18	Widow Kirby	13	. . . . .	0.50
	Mr. Stark's	16	. . . . .	19.50
19	Ruffin's [N. C.]	15	. . . . .	2.00
	Drummond's	15	. . . . .	13.50
21	Eaton's Ferry	12	. . . . .	1.25
	Nicholson	8	. . . . .	2.00
	Warrenton	8	Johnston's . . . Very decent . . .	10.00

[Date.]		[Miles.]	[Innkeeper.]	
22	Hightowers	13	Bad	\$1.00
	Louisburg	14	Greenhill's . Bad — exces. . . .	9.00
23	Rogers'	19	Poor and proud. Four girls . . .	1.25
	Raleigh	13	By Hinton's Bridge. Tolerable. .	10.25
24	Mark Miatt's	16	Very poor, but civil.	1.00
	Cape Fear	20	Ferry at Averysborough	1.00
	Mrs. Smith	3	Excellent	9.00
25	Peyton's	10	Bad.	
28	Fayetteville	11	Pitman	Good for nothing . 35.00
			Baker's much better.	
29	Wise	16	Decent	10.25
	Lumberton	18	Martin's	Not good 2.00
	Ferry, drawing C[oac]h	0	. . . . .	1.00
	Mrs. Rowland's	13	Decent	9.00
	Ford's, at Little Pedee [S. C.]	17	Bad	2.00
31	January.			
	Phillips	17	Miserable	8.00
	Port's on Great Pedee	10	do.	5.50
	Lynch's Creek and Ferry . . .	5	. . . . .	2.00
1	Gasquil's	15	Good	9.00
	Black River Ferry	7½	. . . . .	1.25
	Georgetown	13	Bad. Joseph	20.00
	Ferry . . . . .		. . . . .	2.00
	North Santee Ferry	10	. . . . .	1.00
	South Santee Ferry	1	. . . . .	1.25
6	February.			
	Jones	11	. . . . .	2.00
	Jones	17	. . . . .	2.00
	Ferry	15	. . . . .	24.00
7	February.			
	Charleston	3	. . . . .
25	Mrs. Edwards's, [on] Cooper			} 800.00
	[River].	30	Lady's Plantation	
26	Mr. Antapee's, Head of Canal	25	Company's Agent.	
27	Mr. Bimbo's	22	Good	9.00
	Statesburg	37	Good	11.32
	Macon.			
	Lynch's Creek	30	Miserable	1.00
	Price's	5	Miserable, — civil	6.00
	Long or Cheraw Bluff	30	Mrs. Smith . Or Greenville. Good	8.00
	Wilkes's	40	. . . . .	5.00
	Mrs. W. Fall's	5	. . . . .	2.00
	Fayetteville [N. C.]	25	Sheppard's	20.00

Dr. PAIGE communicated two letters written by the late Rev. William Barry, D.D., describing life in Göttingen in 1828. The following extract gives an account of his courses of study at the University:—

“There are probably 1,500 students here and about 80 professors. Some students attend six lectures daily; others, one or two. I attend

half of the time, four; and half, three. One course of Natural History is by Professor Blumenbach. This is a very aged man of eighty-four, and he has lectured uninterruptedly now for fifty-three years. He has always been distinguished, and is now well known in Europe, and is honored with knighthood. He speaks English pretty well, and is tolerably familiar with our country. He is an exceedingly humorous man, and though so old he keeps the lecture-room in a continual roar. Indeed I have never seen a man who possessed so fully the art of presenting abstract remarks in an interesting and pleasant manner. The principal attraction of his lectures is his Cabinet, which he has been collecting during his whole life. It has been bought for the University at 40,000 rix-dollars. It contains a wonderful variety of natural curiosities from every clime.

"My second course is on the modern history of Europe by Professor Heeren, the most distinguished living historian in Germany. He possesses great simplicity, which is his ruling trait of character, and is combined at the same time with true dignity. He is about sixty-eight years of age, and has lectured for forty years without any interruption from ill health. He is also honored with knighthood. These two professors are the most eminent in Göttingen.

"Then my third course is by a Professor Ewald, a young man of twenty-five, who lectures on the Psalms. He is a prodigy. He has obtained a very excellent knowledge of Hebrew, Arabic, and kindred Oriental languages, and will go to Paris next month to study Chinese! He published a Hebrew Grammar about two years since, which has made him extensively known."¹

Mr. DEANE presented a paper for the Proceedings, and before reading it made the following explanatory statement:

¹ It is interesting to read this allusion to Professor Ewald, who was then beginning his remarkable career, and afterwards became one of the most distinguished philologists of his time. He was a prodigy of learning. The Hebrew Grammar which is here mentioned grew under his hands into an exhaustive treatise, comprising, in its eighth edition, more than nine hundred closely printed pages. His "History of the People of Israel," in seven volumes, has been translated and is well known. Besides these he published commentaries on all the principal books of the Old and New Testaments; he carried on a Biblical Review for twelve years almost alone; he wrote innumerable articles for other periodicals; and he gave instruction in Persian, Ethiopic, Assyrian, Sanscrit, and other languages. In 1837 he was one of the famous seven Göttingen professors who protested against the overthrow of the Constitution of Hanover by the king, for which act he was dismissed from the University, though he was recalled in 1848. In 1867 he was elected a representative to the German Parliament in Berlin; and in 1874 he was arrested and sentenced to three weeks' imprisonment because he could not tolerate the despotic policy of Bismark. He died in 1875, at the age of seventy-two years. — Eds.

Persons familiar with the accounts of the early voyages along the coast of Maine will remember that Captain George Waymouth, on his visit here in 1605, entered the river Pemmaquid, and kidnapped thence five of the natives, whom he carried to England. Their names, as given by James Rosier, who wrote an account of Waymouth's voyage, were Tahánedo, Amóret, Skicowáros, Maneddo, and Sassacomoit.¹

Sir Ferdinando Gorges relates that Waymouth, after he had arrived in England on his return from this voyage, put into the harbor of Plymouth, where Sir Ferdinando commanded, and that he himself there seized upon three of these savages, whose names were Manida, Skettwarroes, and Tasquantum.² "They were all of one nation," he says, "but of several parts and several families. This accident," he continues, "must be acknowledged the means under God of putting on foot, and giving life to all our plantations." Gorges kept these natives in his custody for some time, until they began to show signs of civility, and he could communicate intelligibly with them; his purpose being to learn from them all he could concerning the country whence they came. "The longer I conversed with them," he says, "the better hope they gave me of those parts where they did inhabit, as proper for our uses, especially when I found what goodly rivers, stately islands, and safe harbors those parts abounded with, being the special marks I levelled at as the only want our nation met with in all their navigations along that coast, and having kept them full three years, I made them able to set me down what great rivers ran up into the land, what men of note were seated on them, what power they were of, how allied, what enemies they had, and the like of which in his proper place."

Gorges wrote his interesting and valuable narrative many years after the events which he here records took place; and

¹ A True Relation of Captain George Waymouth, etc., in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. viii. p. 157.

² Waymouth sailed from Dartmouth the last of March, upon Easter day, and returning arrived on the coast of England the 16th of July, when he "made Scylly; from whence," says Rosier, "hindered with calms and small winds, upon Thursday, the 18th July, about four o'clock afternoon, we came into Dartmouth, which haven . . . we made our last and first harbor in England." (3 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. viii. pp. 129, 155.) There is no mention here of putting into Plymouth, which harbor they passed by, and came to Dartmouth, "the first harbor in England." His visit to Plymouth with his five natives, of whom Gorges took three, must have taken place afterwards.

it abounds with errors, some of which may be typographical, some editorial. In saying that the name of one of these three natives was "Tasquantum," he errs.¹ Tasquantum was not among the five whom Weymouth captured at Pemmaquid. Gorges's third Indian was named "Assacumet" (by Rosier spelled "Sassacomoit"). This is confirmed by various accounts, by Gorges himself in a later part of his narrative, and by the early manuscript here communicated for publication. Gorges also errs in saying that he kept these men in custody "full three years." The inference from his narrative is that the three years had expired before the sending away of Captain Challong. Gorges kept them only from July, 1605, until August, 1606, in which last month he sent away two of them, Mannido and Assacomet, with Captain Challong, "in a ship furnished with men and all necessaries, provisions, convenient for the service," with instructions to proceed to the coast whence the natives had been taken.² The remaining Indian, Skettwarroes, Gorges despatched, the last of May, 1607, with the Popham colonists.³

The voyage of Challong, referred to, was unsuccessful. Owing to the illness of the captain, the vessel, instead of keeping the "northerly gage," according to instructions, made a southerly course, and on the 10th of November was captured by a Spanish fleet from the Havannah, and carried to Spain. "Their ship and goods," says Gorges, "were confiscate," the ship's company of twenty-nine Englishmen "made prisoners, the voyage overthrown, and both my natives lost."⁴

And here comes in the paper mentioned at the beginning of these remarks. It is a letter from Captain John Barlee to Levinus Moncke, one of the secretaries of the Earl of Salisbury, soliciting his aid in the liberation of the English prisoners

¹ See Gorges's *Briefe Narration*, original edition, p. 3, London, 1658, or 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 51. Gorges was familiar with the name of Tasquantum, as the native who bore that name was, at a later period, in his custody; but his memory was at fault concerning him. He was one of those twenty-four captives taken from the neighborhood of Plymouth by Hunt in 1614, and carried away to Spain; thence he found his way to England, to Newfoundland, and finally to Plymouth, where he long and faithfully served the colony. Bradford uniformly calls him "Squanto." See index to his *History* under that name; also *Briefe Relation*, London, 1622, or 2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. ix. pp. 7, 8.

² See 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. pp. 51, 52; *Purchas*, vol. i. 1832.

³ 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 54.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 54.

at Seville in Spain, and particularly for "the recovering of the two Savages, Manedo and Sasacomett, for that the adventurers do hold them of great prize, and to be used to their great avail for many purposes," etc.

Who Captain Barlee was, and why Gorges did not personally apply for the aid of the Government for the recovery of the prisoners, and what success attended this application in behalf of the adventurers, we have no means of knowing; but Gorges informs us of the recovery of "Assacumet," one of the two savages who went with Challong, and whom he subsequently, in 1614, sent to the coast with Captain Hobson.

State Papers, Dom. Jas : I. Vol. 28.

Nº 35.

WORTHY S^r/ I have in this inclosed¹ p^rsented vnto you the names of all those that are prisoners in Spaine, the thinge that I wold most especially have entreated att yo^r hands (more then this paper will informe you) is this that you will commend to yo^r care the recov^ring the two Salvages Manedo and Sasacomett, for that the adventurers do hold them of great prize, & to be vsed to ther great availe for many purposes, so beseeching yow to be as willing to further y^t as you were ready of yo^r owne accorde to looke into the buysines (wherof I have no dowbte) & God will reward yo^r charitable devise & the p^rsoners shalbe ppetually bound to you who shall p^rcure them this favour from my ho: good lo: of Salisbury: & for my selfe I rest ready to do you all office & thinke my selfe in my owne harte obliged vnto you as well for my pticuler freinds as for so noble & publique a service: & so I com^dend my respecte to you & you to Gods favour & remaine
yo^r freind as you wilbe-pleased to use.

JOHN BARLEE

This p^rsent Wednesday in hast
the xvij.th of August 1607.

By my Lord

[Endorsed]

Capten Barlee
names of prisoners
at Sevell.

To the Worth M^r Levinus
Monke esquire, Secretary
to my lo: of Salisbury
att his howse or els wher.

¹ Unfortunately the enclosed list is *wanting*.

Dr. CHANNING called attention to the "Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts." It contains, among other things, abstracts and extracts from the manuscripts now in the possession of a descendant of the first Viscount Sackville. Many of them relate to American affairs, and are of considerable interest and value. These "Reports" have no tables of contents, and the indexes to them, while large, do not indicate with sufficient accuracy the letters and papers bearing on America. The "Blue Books," too, are taken by but few libraries in this country, and are very difficult to use when obtainable. It is to be hoped, therefore, that either those portions of the "Reports" which relate to America will be reprinted, or that, at least, a table indicating the contents of the more important documents may be compiled and published.

Dr. EVERETT desired to bring up the somewhat hackneyed subject of the motto of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. He asked if there was anything known of its origin beyond its having been written by Algernon Sidney in an album in Holland, and whether it could be traced beyond Sidney to any Latin poet, ancient or recent. It had occurred to him that it could not be classical, on account of a mistaken use of words in "*Ense petit quietem*," which are unquestionably intended to mean "seeks to obtain peace by the sword," but in a classical writer could only mean "attacks peace with the sword." The following translation would give a double meaning of *peto*, —

"The tyrants' foe, this hand
Aims at calm peace in freedom with its brand,"

where the usage of the Latin poets could only give *aims at a hostile sense*.

Dr. EVERETT also spoke of the spelling of the peculiar proper name *Alablastor*, which occurs in many documents of the seventeenth century, and is familiar to the readers of the "Life of John Winthrop." In this book and most modern histories it is changed to *Alabaster*, to conform to the spelling of the name of the mineral. But the second *l* appears in the original works, — as, for instance, in Anthony à Wood's "*Athenæ*," *passim*, — and has been retained in Nuttall's "*Fuller's Worthies*," vol. iii. p. 185, in Sandford's "*Studies of the Great Rebellion*," p. 229, and other careful works. Moreover, the mineral is not

infrequently spelt with two *l*'s, — as, for instance, in “Paradise Lost,” book iv. l. 543, 1st and 2d editions; and Dr. Everett said that he had heard this in his boyhood mentioned as a very vulgar pronunciation of the mineral. It is so spoken of in Greville’s “Diary.” Yet there can be no doubt how the mineral should be spelt. *Alabaster* is a Greek word, used frequently for the mineral, but still oftener for an ointment-box made of it; and this sense — a small box for holding liquids — Dr. Everett thought was its real sense, originally, perhaps, *an inkstand*, from an Eastern word for ink. It undoubtedly should have but one *l*. On the other hand, the proper name seems to be an alteration of *Arblaster*, that is, *Arcubalistarius*, “a cross-bow man,” which still exists in England in the form *Larbalestier*, and will be remembered in the history of the Seminole war in the form *Ambrister*, which is of German origin, from *Armbrust*, the German for “cross-bow.” It is very possible that the two words corrupted each other at the transition stage from Middle to Late English, *Arblaster* getting its first *l* from *Alabaster*, and the mineral its second *l* from the proper name.

Mr. HAYNES replied, that the Latin verse was inscribed by Sidney in an album in Denmark, some time in 1659 or 1660, but that there is a discrepancy in the original authorities as to the place where this album was kept. Thomas Hollis, in his edition of Sidney’s works (p. 10, ed. 1772), quotes, from “Familiar Letters written by John late Earl of Rochester and other Persons of Honour and Quality,” the following passage from a letter written to Sidney by his father, the Earl of Leicester: “It is said that the University of Copenhagen brought their Album unto you, desiring you to write something therein; and that you did *scribere in albo* these words, —

‘Manus hæc inimica tyrannis
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem,’

and put your name to it.” But Lord Molesworth, in “An Account of Denmark as it was in 1692,” published in London in 1694, tells the story at greater length, and states that the lines were written in the Album of the King’s Library, and that they were afterwards torn out by Terlon, the French Ambassador (Preface, *sub fin.*).

As bearing upon the question of their authorship, it may be said that an anonymous correspondent of "Notes and Queries" (3d ser. vol. ix. p. 197, March 10, 1866) states that the first line is to be found in a patent granted by Camden (Clarenceux) in 1616, when Sidney was only five years old, so that this one could not have been original with him. Mr. Haynes was inclined to the opinion that the other was his own composition, and agreed with Dr. Everett as to its questionable Latinity in the sense in which it was intended to be understood.

Dr. GREEN made the following remarks:—

At the last meeting of the Society, allusion was made to Chief Justice Sewall's custom of distributing books and tracts among his friends. Whenever anything was printed that seemed to him to meet the public need, in a moral point of view, he was sure to supply himself with a goodly number of copies, and bestow them as occasion required. The conversion of the Jews always lay near to his heart, and often directed the channels of his generosity. In his Diary, under the date of October 3, 1720, he speaks of giving away "Mr. Willard's Fountain open'd with the little print and verses." The incomplete title here given refers to "THE | Fountain Opened: | OR, | The Great Gospel Priviledge of having | CHRIST exhibited to *Sinfull Men*, | WHEREIN | Also is proved that there shall be | a National Calling of the | JEVVS | from *Zech. XIII. 1.* | By Samuel Willard, | Teacher of a Church in *Boston.* | *Boston* in *New-England*, | Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, | for Samuel Sewall Junior. 1700." pages iv, 210, sm. octavo.

The expression "little print and verses" used by Judge Sewall is somewhat obscure, but it is cleared up by an examination of a copy of "The Fountain Opened" now in the library of the Society. Bound in at the beginning of the book, opposite to the title, is a small folded sheet, of which the two inner pages contain the printed matter alluded to by the Judge. It is of a different kind of paper from the body of the volume, and is dated May 12, 1720, — twenty years after the publication of the book. Two of these verses appear in the Diary, in the entry of November 21, 1700, when Sewall writes that he composed them that evening, showing that they are his production. The fly-leaf of this Willard volume

has been torn out; but from a stub still left, and bearing a few words in Sewall's well-known handwriting, it is evident that this particular copy once belonged to him, and by him was given to a friend. The two printed pages are as follows:—

*Upon Mr. Samuel Willard, his first
coming into the Assembly, and Praying,
after a long and dangerous Fit of
Sickness; November 21. 1700. at
3. in the Afternoon, being a Day of
Publick THANKSGIVING.
Mr. Pemberton's Text, Psal. 118. 27.*

AS *Joseph* let his Brethren see
Simeon both alive, and free:
So *JESUS* brings forth *Samuel*,
To tune our hearts to praise Him well.

Thus He with beams of cheerful Light
Corrects the darkness of our Night:
His Grace assists us in this wise
To seise and bind the Sacrifice.

Distressing Fear caus'd us to Pray*
God help'd us; He will help us aye.
Let's then our Ebenezer raise,
And honour GOD with endless Praise.

[End of page 1.]

N. The 106 ——— 127, & 166 Pages
of this Book, do more especially treat
of the Calling of the *Jews*.

Revel. **A**ND he saith unto me, Write,
19. 9. *Blessed are they who are
called unto the Marriage-Supper of the
LAMB. And he saith unto me, These
are the true sayings of GOD.*

'Tis certain, CHRIST will speedily
fetch home his beautiful, and belov'd,
and long'd-for *Rachel*: 'Tis high time

* October 8th, 1700.

for all Christians to petition, and pray
for it; lest it should be said to any of
them, *Wherefore are you the last to
bring back the Queen?*

Come! our HIMMANUEL,
constantly to keep House at *Boston* in
New-England.

Come! our JESUS! and save thy
People from their Sins.

Come! Lord JESUS!

Fifth-Day; May 12th, 1720.

Dr. MOORE referred to a letter of the apostle Eliot, recently brought to light by the Rev. Dr. Charles A. Briggs, and soon to be published by him, which gives a description of New England in 1650. He then read a paper respecting the validity of the Salem court for the witch-trials in 1692, and traced from the beginning the contemporary opposition which led to the abandonment of the court before its assigned work was completed, and the transfer of its business to a new tribunal authorized by the Legislature, which promptly checked the delusion. The design of the paper was to show that the whole constitution and proceedings of the court first established by the arbitrary will of the Governor were in violation of the fundamental law of Massachusetts. The opinion of Hutchinson was quoted, showing that so well informed a man as he did not hesitate to say, in 1767, that "a little attention must force the conclusion that the whole was a scene of fraud and delusion." The writer regarded it as an attempt to break down the great principles of the common law of Massachusetts by introducing the "law and custom of England."

Mr. GOODELL spoke briefly in reply; and Dr. EVERETT said that the question of legality or illegality of Stoughton's court is likely to be unsettled for some time, appeal being made to the very words of the charter by both parties. But it is not right to cloud this issue by impassioned attacks on the action of the court. Nobody wishes to maintain that its proceedings were reasonable or humane; but a court may be stupid and tyrannical, yet perfectly legal. The constitution of the Court of King's Bench was just as legal when Sir Matthew Hale main-

tained the reality of witchcraft, or when Jeffries perpetrated his atrocities, as when Sir John Holt dismissed charges of witchcraft and treated prisoners with fairness. Suppose that, when the representatives of the victims of 1692 had in vain appealed for redress, Governor Burnet or Governor Shute or Governor Belcher had called a special commission to hear their petitions and afford restitution; we should now be treated to panegyrics on the righteous governor who nobly maintained the office of the King of England to render full and speedy justice to all his subjects. It is analogous to the celebrated letter quoted by Macaulay from Lord Sunderland to "Mr. Penne." The stanch defenders of William Penn deny that it can have been written to him, because it is addressed to some one who was engaged in a dishonorable transaction about the ransom of the Taunton girls; but if the letter had informed "Mr. Penne" that in consequence of his intercession, his Majesty had been graciously pleased to extend his free pardon to the poor girls, "Mr. Penne" would have been eagerly identified with William, in spite of spelling, style, and all other alleged difficulties. Sir William Phips either had or had not authority to constitute the court. But how the court, when constituted, exercised its jurisdiction is a second and wholly irrelevant question.

John Eliot's Description of New England in 1650.¹

In May, 1884, I was making researches for the present volume in the Hunterian Museum of the University of Glasgow, when my attention was called by the curator, Professor John Young, M.D., to a number of uncatalogued books and pamphlets. Among the pamphlets he showed me a few manuscripts. Among these I found the letter of Eliot which is now for the first time given to the public. Professor Young kindly gave me permission to use it, and Mr. John Young, B.Sc., one of

¹ By the kindness of Professor Charles A. Briggs, D.D., of Union Theological Seminary, New York, we are permitted to reprint this valuable letter, which was discovered by him and is included in the Appendix to his work entitled "American Presbyterianism: Its Origin and Early History." It is contemporaneous with and supplementary to Samuel Maverick's account of New England in 1660, which was published in the last volume of Proceedings (pp. 231-249), and contains information respecting ministers and magistrates which is wanting there. Great pains have been taken to give this letter exactly according to the original; and Dr. Briggs writes: "It has been thrice compared; and the last revision was made from slip proof, which was compared with the manuscript in Glasgow." — EDS.

the assistant librarians, carefully copied it for me. The letter is without date, signature, or address. It seems to have been copied from an original, which has thus far escaped the attention of explorers, if indeed it is now in existence. A cursory examination disclosed its value, but not its authorship. A careful examination by the principles of the Higher Criticism discloses its author and date. The value of the letter is very great, not only for the general survey of New England at the time, but for the fresh information it gives with reference to certain towns, churches, and ministers, which were wrapt in uncertainty and obscurity as to their origin and actual condition at the time when this letter was written, in the spring of 1650.

The date of the letter may be approximately fixed by the following evidences: (1) In speaking of Roxbury it says: "Where Master Dudly, now Governor liveth Master Eliot is teacher, and Master Danfurth (by the good hand of the Lord upon us) is to be ordained pastor." Governor John Winthrop died March 26, 1649, and was succeeded by John Endicott May 2, 1649, and he by Thomas Dudley May 22, 1650. Samuel Danfurth was ordained Sept. 24, 1650. This gives us the date within a few months. (2) In speaking of Cambridge it says: "Blessed Master Sheppard there pastor did lately dye, and they have not yet any other ordained, but Master Michell is elected their pastor, and shortly to be ordained." Thomas Sheppard died Aug. 25, 1649, and Jonathan Mitchell was ordained Aug. 21, 1650. This narrows the date to an interval of less than three months. (3) In speaking of Boston, it represents that "the ministers are Master Cotton teacher, and Master Wilson is pastor." It knows nothing of the Second Church of Boston, which was organized June 5, 1650. (4) Mr. Blinman was pastor at Gloucester, Massachusetts, when the letter was written. Mr. Blinman was at Gloucester in September, 1649, and at New London, Connecticut, in November, 1650. (5) Mr. Whitefield was at Guilford, Connecticut, when the letter was written. Mr. Whitefield removed to England in 1650. (6) Speaking of Weathersfield, Connecticut, it represents that the pastor, Master Smith, had lately died. "And they have called Mr. Russel an hopeful branch brought up in our college." Mr. Smith died in 1648, and Mr. Russel was installed in 1650.

From these evidences it is clear that the letter could not have been written earlier than May 22, 1650, or later than June 5, 1650. It seems most reasonable to place the date in the last week of May, 1650.

There are several traces of the author: (1) The author represents himself as sitting in his study at Roxbury. He was associated with Mr. Hooke, of New Haven, in some general work of the Church, and they were to "communicate counsells." He speaks of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson, of Boston, as more convenient for him to counsel with. The author was thus an eminent minister residing at Roxbury in 1649. He

can be no other than John Eliot, the apostle of the Indians. And it is probable that he was to advise with others with reference to the work among the Indians under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, just organized in England. (2) He says that "Master Danfurth (by the good hand of the Lord upon us) is to be ordained pastor" at Roxbury. Danforth cannot be the writer. He was a young man whom Eliot anxiously expected to relieve him, so that he could devote more time to labor among the Indians. He considered it as the good work of the Lord's hand that Danforth was soon to be ordained pastor. (3) The interest of the author in the Indians is clear from the following extracts: "Southwest from Dedham, seven miles is Natick, an Indian town, by the blessing of God now beginning," and "Martins Vineyard the island where Mr. Mahu is pastor and preacheth to the Indians which live in that island." (4) Speaking of Providence, he says: "Which town Mr. Williams first began, but there also they affect to have no minister, but is also a receptacle of many varietyes of opinions, Mr. Williams spending his life in trucking with the Indians." This is a fine piece of irony, on the part of the apostle to the Indians, with reference to the heresiarch Roger Williams.

These evidences seem to show with sufficient plainness that John Eliot was the author of the letter.

There are doubtless other facts mentioned in the letter which will serve to make the date still more definite. These we shall leave to the specialists in the History of New England. We also leave to such scholars the historical gain from the statements made in the letter.

S^r:—

According to your desire heere is a breife topographicall description of the Seuerall Townes in new England with the names of our magistrates and Ministers:

The Massachusetts Bay is deepe and large, about : 13 : myles from the Southend to the northend, bespoted with many Ilands, more than : 20. The channell at which all shippes (vsually) enter is allmost at the Southend, and at the uery enterance is a little Towne begun lately: named Hull, where there is yet noe minister, within this Bay are many Townes, At the Southend is Hingham, where Master Itbbard is minister, Next Weymouth, where master Thatcher is minister. One the westside of this Bay are these Townes, Brantree to the Southermost, where master Thomson is pastor, master Flint teacher. Then Dorchester where mather is Teacher, and master wilson (the sonne of master wilson of Boston) is pastor. The next is Roxbury, where master dudly, now Gouvernor. liueth, Master Elot is Teacher, and master Danfurth (by the good hand of the lord upon us) is to be ordained Pastor, In the botome, or northend of this Bay is Boston our cheife hauen, where most

ships that come to this country, ride at anchor, the magistrats who liue there are master Bellingham and master Hibbens, the ministers are Master Cotton Teacher, And master Wilson is Pastor. On the same northend of the Bay, On the other side a water as broad as the thames at London, Is charlstowne, the next hauen-towne to Boston, and y^e riu^r betwixt these Townes, is the most frequent anchoring of Shipp^s, Master Nowell magistrate liueth there, And master Symes is Pastor, Master Allen Teacher, By charlsriu^r west from Boston and charlstowne, about . 3 . or . 4 . myle is cambridge, where is seated Haruard colledge, master Dunster President, Blessed master Sheppard there pastor did lately dye, and they haue not yet any other ordained, but master Michell is elected there Pastor, and shortly to be ordained a little by the same riu^r is watertowne where Master knowles is Pastor and Master Sharman Teacher; ten myles in land to the west and norwest from them lye . 2 . Townes on a riu^r which runeth North and South, Concord the most northerly where Master Flint magistrate liueth, and master Bulkley is Pastor. By streame southward lyeth Sudbury Where Mr. Browne is Pastor, West from Sudbury . 16 . myles lyeth nashaway, in land who want a Minister, And Southwest in land from Roxbury lyeth Dedham, where Mr Allen is Pastor, South west from Dedham, 7 . myles is Natick a Indian Towne, by the blessing of God now begining, And upon a more Southene lyne . 8 . myles from Dedham is begining a new Plantation, called faire-meade, North-ward from charlstowne, 7 myles in land lyeth Woobourne, where Mr Carter is Pastor. —

Againe north-northeast from charlstowne . 3 . myles lyeth Malden, who yet haue not a minister. settled, And . 4 . myles further on the same poynt lyeth Reading, where Mr Hoph is Pastor, — Northeast from Charlstowne about . 7 . myles lyeth lynn. which is upon the Sea cost within the Bay, there the great Iron workes are, Mr Bridges Magistrate liueth there, and Mr Whiting is Pastor, Mr Cobbett Teacher. Nor North-east from them . 4 . myles is Marblehead, a good fishing place, Mr Walton is Minister, A myle North from them layeth Sale, a uery Good harbour, Mr Endicot Deputy Gouernor liueth there, Mr Norice is Pastor, Six myles Northward from them lyeth Wenham, Mr Fiske Pastor, Againe . 6 . myles Northeast from Sale, is a litle fishing Towne called Manchester where they want a Minister, And there a poynt runeth out eastward into the sea called Cape-ann, neere to the head whereof is a fishing town^e called Gloster, Mr Blinmar is Pastor, On the Northside of that head land cometh forth the broad mouth of mirimack, On which riu^r are Sundry townes the riu^r runeth East and West, Next the mouth of that riu^r lyeth Ipswich. which is . 6 . myles North from Wenham, Mr Symons Magistrate there liueth, Mr Nathaneel Rogers is Pastor, Mr Norton Teacher, . 3 . myles west of them lyeth Rowly, Where Mr Ezekiell Rogers is Pastor, from Rowley west

ward : 14 . myles layeth Andeuer where Mr Dane is Pastor, againe . 4 . myles Nor West from Rowley layeth newbery where Mr Parker is Pastor, and Mr Noyce Teacher, thence crossing the Broad mouth of Mirimacke which (as I Remember may be . 3 . times as broad as the thams at London) there lyeth Salsbury, Mr Wooster Pastor, about . 5 . or . 6 . myles up the northside the great riuer lyeth Hauerill (neere . ouer . against Andeuer) there Mr Ward is Pastor, about 7 myles from Salsbery Northward lyeth Hampton, where Mr Dalton and Mr Wheeleright are ministers, About . 4 or . 5 . myles futher north is Exeter where they want a minister, and that is at the head of Pascataway riuer, at the mouth whereof lyeth Douer where Mr Wiggen A magestrate liueth and Mr Mand is Pastor. — Some more places to the north are Inhabited, but they belong not to the Massachusetts Iurisdiction, nor doe I know them, Soe as to be able to name them, And these are the people under the Massachusetts Gouverment north and South, On the South, Plimouth pattent Bordereth with us, And there first towne lyeth Southeast : 10 : myles from Hingham, called Situate lying on the Sea, Mr Cancy is Pastor, And . 4 . myles Southward lyeth Marshfield, Mr Bulkly is Pastor, 4 or . 5 . myles Southward layeth Duxbury, Mr Partridge Pastor, about . 7 . myles Southward, lyeth Plimouth, Mr Rayner Pastor, And the Gouvernour Mr Bradford liueth, I name none other of there magistrats Because I know not well where they Dwell, nor all there names ; From Plimouth Southeast or more easterly putteth forth a uery long poynt of land into the Sea, the head whereof is called Cape-cod, which with cape-ann make the great Bay of New England alongst that necke of land are Seuerall Townes : Eastward . 27 . myles from Plimouth is Sandwich, Mr Leueredge is Pastor ; Eastward 14 . myles is Bastable, Mr Lothrop Pastor, Eastward . 4 . myles is Yarmouth Mr Miller Pastor, Eastward : 11 : myles Nauset is, Mr Mayo Pastor. On the Southside of this Necke of land ouer against Bastable or Sandwich, lyeth Martins Vinyard the Iland where Mr Mahu is Pastor, and Preacheth to the Indians which liue in that Iland all that coast Southward is full of Ilands, the most northerly part whereof is called the Mar-raganset Bay, where westward from Martins Vinyard Some leagues layeth Road Iland where they haue . 2 . Townes but noe Church nor Minister, nor doe they desire any that I heare of ; Ouer against the north end of that Iland a pritty faire riuer emptieth it selfe in the sea upon which riuer about : 20 : myles is Taunton, about : 30 : miles west from Plymouth and about as much South from Boston, there Mr. Streete is Teacher, and Mr Hooke was Pastor, but is remooued to new hauen, more Southerly. Some leagues westward of that riuer, another such like riuer emptieth it selfe, neere the mouth where of lyeth Prouidence, which Towne Mr Williams first began, but there also they affect to haue no minister, but is also A receptacle of many varietyes of opinions, Mr

Williams spending his life in trucking with the Indians, About . 4 . myles by that riuer is a town called Rehoboth, where Mr Newman is Pastor, And this layeth westward, From Taunton ouerland about : 14 : myles A great way Southward Upon that coast, I cannot say how many leagues (it may be 20) openeth the mouth of Pequot riuer, which is an Excellent harbour, and there Mr Iohn Winthrop. with others haue a towne begun, but yet want a minister, A few myles Southward openeth the great mouth of Conecticot riuer, at the mouth where of is a fort, and a church gathered this yeere, and Mr Fitch is Pastor the riuer runeth Northwest and Southeast, neere . 40 . myles up the riuer is a towne begun at a place called Mattabesett, but they haue noe minister : 12 : myles higher is weathersfeild where Master Smith there Pastor lately dyed, And they haue called Mr Russell an hopefull Branch brought up in our Colledge (as Sundry others fornamed haue beene) 3 myles up the riuer is Hartford, where Mr Hooker latly dyed, And Mr Stone is Pastor, Vp a riuer 8 myles is a villedge where Mr Newton is Pastor ; 6 . myles up the riueer lyeth Winsor, where Mr Wareham is Pastor, 20 . myles up the riuer layeth Springfield where Mr Moxon is Pastor, And this towne ouerland from the Bay layeth : 80 : or : 90 : myles Southwest, and is the roade way to all the townes upon this riuer, and lye more Southward, This is all that is yet Possessed on that riuer, — Then along the South coast from the mouth of Conecticot . 18 . myles layeth Gilford where Mr Whitefield is Pastor, and Mr Higgenson Teacher, Southward the same coast : 7 : myles lyeth Totocot, where Mr Peirson is Pastor, Southward . 7 . myles lyeth Newhauen, where Mr Dauernport is Pastor, and Mr Hooke Teacher, and this towne ouerland from the Townes on Conecticot is betwixt : 30 : & : 40 : myles, So that the sea coast lyeth not due South but inclineth to the west, Onward the same Southerly coast, 8 . myles lyeth Milford where Mr Prudden is Pastor, further more . 4 . myles layeth stradford where Mr Blackman is Pastor, futher : 8 : myles lyeth fairefeild where Mr Iones is Pastor, further on the same Coast . 28 : myles lyeth Stamford where Mr Bishop is Pastor : 3 : myles Southward is a towne begining called Greenwich, westward : 7 : myles in land from Stanford is an other Towne begining, Not many leagues Southward is Hudsons riuer, where the Duch liue, All along this coast betwixt them and the maine sea stretcheth a uery long Iland, So called for the length, on which are seuerall townes which I know not; the Southend whereof the Dutch challeng, this Iland, is about : 100 : myles long; in the northerly end of this Iland lyeth Easthamton, Mr Iames is minister, The next towne Southwest : 20 : myles lyeth Southhamton, Mr Fordam, Minister. Southwest : 10 : myles lyeth Southhold Mr Yong Pastor, about . 50 : myles to the South-west-end : is Hempsted, where Mr Moore Preacheth; a litle neerer the duch liueth the lady Moody an anabaptist & neere to that in the straight

betwixt long Iland & the maine called Hellgate, neere which Place Ms Hutchinson liued and was slaine by the Indians.

— Thus worthy Sr haue you according to your request, a breife Description of New England, So well As I could sitting in my study, proiect it (neuer hauing seene manye Partyes of it) with the names of most of the townes, And Ministers therein, and by this you see at what a distance Mr Hooke at Newhauen and I at Roxbury liue and cannot communicate counsells, but I haue wrot unto him and I doubt not but he will chuse Mr Cotton and Mr Wilson of Boston. to whom I am next neighbour, and we do weekely communicate counsells, You see also where Mr Wareham liueth, on Conecticot, But who euer would send any thing to any Towne in New England, the best way is to send it to Boston or Charlstowne for they are hauen Townes for all New England and Speedy meanes of conueyance to all places is there to bee had.

Dr. ELLIS presented a memoir of the late Nathaniel Thayer.



MEMOIR
OF
NATHANIEL THAYER, A.M.

BY GEORGE E. ELLIS.

THE ancestors of the Thayer family in Massachusetts came here with the earliest colonists from England. We find Thomas Tayer, his wife Margerey, and three sons, settled in Old Braintree about 1630. He was accompanied, or soon followed, by his brother Richard. They came from Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England: the name is found on the old records of the place, but is now extinct there. The grandchildren of the first Thomas inserted the letter *h* in the name, which the descendants have ever since adopted.

Nathaniel Thayer was born in Boston, July 17, 1710. He married here Ruth, a sister of the Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot, minister of the New North Church in Boston from 1742 till his death in 1778. He remained in the town during its occupancy by the British army in our Revolutionary War. The eldest child of these parents was the Rev. Ebenezer Thayer, born in Boston, July 16, 1734; graduated at Harvard College in 1753; and settled as the minister of Hampton, New Hampshire, from 1766 to his death in 1792. His wife, Martha Cotton, was a daughter of the Rev. John Cotton, of Newton, and a direct descendant of the minister of the First Church in Boston. These were the parents of the Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, D.D., who graduated at Harvard College in 1789, and was settled in the ministry at Lancaster, Massachusetts, in 1793, till his death in 1840. He married Sarah, a daughter of the Hon. Christopher Toppan, of Hampton. They were the parents of eight children; the seventh of which, Nathaniel, the subject of this memoir, was born in Lancaster, Sept. 11, 1808.

The other children of the family who lived to maturity — with whom the subject of this memoir grew up, all being his elders, some of whom will be mentioned again — were : Martha, who married John Marston, Esq., United States Consul at Palermo, Sicily ; Mary Ann ; John Eliot ; and Christopher Toppan, for twenty-five years minister of the First Church in Beverly. These are all deceased.

The tenure of office for a minister in Dr. Thayer's time was for life. If age or infirmity disabled him for duty, he was provided with a colleague. Dr. Thayer himself had sustained that relation for more than two years with his predecessor, who died at the age of eighty, after a service of forty-eight years. His early years of service were in frugal days of simple living, before the multiplication of appliances and luxuries. His salary for his whole ministry of nearly half a century did not amount to half that number of thousands of dollars. A farm and a wood-lot, with some slight patrimony, assured him all the conditions of comfort and competency. Like all his ministerial brethren, he sent one son to college, and would doubtless have sent them all, had they desired it. Like most of his brethren, likewise, he found in the mother of his children one of those admirable women, fit not only to aid, but to prompt every wifely and maternal obligation in domestic and parental duty. Those ministers' wives, fully as much as their husbands, were the property, for all excellent service of interest and oversight, of their parishioners. In dignity and graces, in culture and accomplishments, and in all exemplary qualities for the home and for social relations, Mrs. Thayer was the crown of her husband and the revered and beloved guide of her children.

It was in such a home and with such guardians that the subject of this Memoir was trained to manhood. That he was a healthful and a happy boy, of rural blood and fibre, acquainted with farm-work and fond of roaming in the woods, and a genial companion of those who were growing up around him, will appear when a later reference is made to his strong attachment to his native place and its people. In his youth the town had many citizens and families of comfortable resources, intelligence, and culture, and in professional service. As a matter of course there was an academy, and teachers of the highest qualities, among whom it is enough to

mention such afterwards distinguished men as Jared Sparks and George B. Emerson. Mr. Thayer enjoyed peculiar advantages in his relations to his teachers, because of their special intimacy at the parsonage. Each passing year brought to that centre of the best influences a succession of guests and visitors, from whose conversation and manners there was much to be learned by young listeners and observers. The intimates of Mr. Thayer all through his life were always impressed by the signs that though the tenor and occupations of his business activity drew him away from the pursuits of literature and science, he was ever an intelligent and appreciative companion of the foremost and most accomplished masters in those pursuits. His munificent patronage of literary and scientific men made him essentially a fellow of them.

His brother John Eliot Thayer, five years his elder, had preceded him in going to Boston to enter upon a business life. The capital of both the brothers was integrity and capacity. To these, largely helped indeed by signally favorable opportunities, judiciously improved, they were indebted for a wonderful success, such as is gained only by the few, while the many fail in full or in degree. When Nathaniel Thayer went to Boston, his main purpose first was to secure a business training. This he found, first in a clerkship, and then in a partnership in mercantile firms. From the first he was choice and careful in forming his social relations, and in prudential and conscientious watchfulness of character. He attached himself to the ministry of the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., minister of the Second Church. His name appears on its records as sharing in its works of religion and benevolence. His brother John having established himself successfully as a banker and broker, with the prospect of a steadily extending business, received him into partnership in 1834, under the firm of John E. Thayer & Brother. The connection continued till the death of the elder in 1857. The acquisitions of the firm and the property which accrued to the survivor were large for the date and the then existing state of the business world. They were small, however, compared with those which afterwards, in the rapid development of the material interests of the country, were gathered by the younger brother.

Mr. Thayer felt profoundly, and cheerfully recognized, the responsibility and obligations of wealth. While he determined

to leave to his heirs the means of imitating his own generosity, instead of so distributing his property as to lead them to feel that he had relieved them of such duty, he preferred to give in his lifetime and enjoy the sight of his good works. Though his early years were of frugal surroundings, and his first mercantile occupations were little more than remunerative, his mature life was one of vast and sunny prosperity. He was generous always according to his means, and his generosity kept even proportions with his accumulations. Some of its channels, by no means exhaustively, may now be traced.

Mr. Thayer was elected a Fellow of the Corporation of Harvard College in 1868. This was a most exceptional honor to be conferred on one not a graduate; for from the earliest times that the College had alumni, it had found among them those who could wisely and intelligently administer its interests. The most conspicuous person who had, previously to Mr. Thayer, shared that exceptional honor, was the eminent mathematician Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch. There were reasons that warranted the election of Mr. Thayer. He had proved in many ways his interest in the College, its objects, officers, and students, all of whom had profited by his generosity in a variety of gifts. And as the funds of the College were rapidly increasing, it was the more needful that there should be among the Fellows, as there always had been, one or more skilled in finance and the management of trusts. Till he resigned his place in 1875, the institution had many occasions for valuing his services and offerings. True to his reverential regard for his father and his father's profession, the pet objects of the son's sympathies were impoverished and disabled ministers. It was well understood by his intimates that if either of them knew a young man of promise otherwise unable to enter or complete his course in college, the means would be abundantly furnished. All through the remainder of his life this was a favorite direction of his benevolence, and the gifts were not stinted. Many young men were supported by him through their whole college course. He expected his sons, when in college, to follow his example in all considerate ways.

The most practically efficient of some of Mr. Thayer's devices for serving a class of students was that known as "Thayer Commons," something of which sort was made neces-

sary when, before the establishment of the capacious dining-room in the Memorial Hall, the College, having abandoned its former provision, had left the students to the mercies of outside boarding-houses. The following graphic sketch of Mr. Thayer's device is furnished me by the Rev. Dr. A. P. Peabody, a friend greatly revered and loved by Mr. Thayer, and one of those who shared confidentially in the partition of his generosity : —

CAMBRIDGE, April 6, 1883.

MY DEAR DR. ELLIS, — The origin of the boarding club at Cambridge was on this wise. I was spending a week at Lancaster, and in driving with Mr. Thayer one day, I told him of the hardships which I had discovered in some cases to be endured by students who undertook to board themselves. He at once told me that if I could make any arrangement for cheap board at cost, he would furnish the fund. There was a building, originally a railway-station, but then occupied in part by me for evening religious meetings, and in part by the "queen-goody" of the College. The Corporation gave the building up to me. I made the queen-goody cook of the establishment, procured the requisite kitchen equipment and furniture, tables, seats, dishes, etc., costing in the whole more than a thousand dollars. We thus were able by crowding to accommodate some fifty or sixty students, while as many were excluded as could be admitted. The plan then was started of building in the rear of the rooms thus occupied, a dining-hall. For that a subscription paper was started, and a few hundred (less than a thousand) dollars subscribed. Mr. Thayer assumed the cost of building, which, with the requisite furnishing and a large increase of kitchen plenishing, amounted to seven or eight thousand dollars. His expenditure in the whole must have been not less than seven thousand, and it was all that I asked for, and would have been twice or thrice as much, had I asked for it. As for the subscription, it was not started because he wanted that it should be, but because Ingersoll Bowditch was interested in the plan, wanted to do something for it, got up the paper himself, and was the only subscriber to it whom I can recall, probably the only one who gave more than a pittance.

Ever truly yours,

A. P. PEABODY.

This "Thayer Commons" was, at its institution, and for the term of its continuance, one of the most useful and highly appreciated of all the general provisions made for the welfare and comfort of a large number of the students of the College. It combined felicitously the principles of self-support and a

generous subsidy for necessary deficiencies. Even its limitations were among its advantages. That twice as many applied for admission as could be received into it assured to it a privileged character. The patronage and oversight which it enjoyed made its generous management a certainty.

Through the kindness of President Eliot of Harvard College, the writer has been furnished with a copy, from the records of the Corporation, of the documents relating to that munificent donation to the College which bears the name of "Thayer Hall." The following items show the initiation and the completion of his design : —

"July 31, 1869. *Voted*, That the President and Messrs. Thayer and Lowell be a committee to consider the expediency of erecting a new dormitory, and procure plans and estimates if they see fit.

"Sept. 25, 1869. The committee on the expediency of erecting a new dormitory presented a report recommending the immediate erection of such a building. Whereupon it was *Voted*, To proceed forthwith to the erection of a new dormitory, according to the plans of Messrs. Ryder & Harris, and under their superintendence.

"*Voted*, That the sum of the tenders of contract upon the said building, and of the commissions chargeable upon the same, be limited to \$100,000.

"*Voted*, That the committee appointed July 31, 1869, be empowered to fix the site of the new building, and carry the above votes into execution."

BOSTON, Jan. 10, 1870.

To the President and Fellows of Harvard College :

GENTLEMEN, — As stated in the report of the Committee upon a new Dormitory, dated Sept. 25, 1869, I agreed to pay the first fifty thousand dollars which might be called for. I now agree to pay the entire cost of the building, as the money may be wanted.

My object in doing this is not simply to meet a great want of the College at this time, but also as a testimony of respect to the memory of my much-loved and honored father, Nathaniel Thayer, D.D., who was a graduate of, and for some time an instructor in, the College ; and also to that of my brother John Eliot Thayer, who showed in various ways his interest in the College, and especially in establishing the scholarships bearing his name.

With much respect, yours truly,

N. THAYER.

Whereupon it was —

Voted, That the munificent offer of Mr. Thayer be gratefully accepted, and that the President make suitable acknowledgment thereof.

Voted, That the new dormitory be named Thayer Hall.

Voted, That the Building Committee be directed to place in the vestibule, or other suitable position, a tablet with an inscription expressive of the memorial design contemplated by Mr. Thayer.¹

Professor Asa Gray has furnished the writer with some of the particulars connected with another of Mr. N. Thayer's benefactions to the University, — namely, his provision of a fire-proof Herbarium, with furnishings and library, in connection with the Botanic Gardens. This was one among the many objects and directions of Mr. Thayer's generosity, in which, while starting with a will and expectation of co-operating with others in instituting or advancing some special design, he found himself led on, by circumstances of his own prompting, to do the whole, and even then to be ready to meet the incidental consequences in the development of methods and necessities. The solid and well-protected brick structure for the Herbarium cost about \$12,000. It needed an elaborate system of cases and drawers; then an addition to its library; then the Garden itself drew on him for its restoration, in the amount of \$5,000. Only his own private papers would show the whole cost of his offering to the collection and preservation of Flora.

Under the name of the "Thayer Expedition," rightly so called, because it was prompted, and so far as private liberality was engaged, was wholly sustained, at the charge of the subject of this Memoir, appreciative notice must here be taken of a most successful enterprise of world-wide interest to scientists and naturalists. The expedition combined in equal portions the lofty and chivalrous enthusiasm of Professor Louis Agassiz, and the unstinted generosity of Mr. Thayer. And it may be added that Mr. Thayer himself acted under the double inspiration of his interest in science and his admiration and love for the great naturalist.

¹ The tablet bears this simple inscription : —

THIS HALL IS ERECTED BY
NATHANIEL THAYER
IN MEMORY OF HIS FATHER,
NATHANIEL THAYER, D.D.
AND OF HIS BROTHER,
JOHN ELIOT THAYER.

1870.

Mr. Agassiz had procured in 1859, with large subsequent help from State grants, as well as from individuals, the founding of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, in connection with Harvard College.

One of the fruits of the Thayer Expedition is a volume bearing the following title: "A Journey in Brazil, by Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1868." The contents of the book are mainly from the journal of Mrs. Agassiz. The dedication of the volume is —

"To Mr. Nathaniel Thayer, the Friend who made it possible to give this Journey the character of a Scientific Expedition, THE PRESENT VOLUME is Gratefully inscribed."

In simple and graceful sentences the Professor relates the circumstances which led to the expedition. In 1865 he had felt it necessary to seek relief from the strain and weariness of work, and recuperation of health by change and motion. His thoughts and longings turned to the study of the Fauna of Brazil, particularly as its enlightened and generous Emperor had previously expressed his sympathy with Agassiz, and had sent valuable collections to the Museum at Cambridge. But the distance of space, the expense of time, the lack of pecuniary resources, and the necessity of providing for competent scientific assistants and companions to aid his single-handed efforts, were formidable obstacles in the way. The words of this earnest seeker must be quoted here:—

"While I was brooding over these thoughts I chanced to meet Mr. Nathaniel Thayer, whom I have ever found a generous friend to science. The idea of appealing to him for a scheme of this magnitude had not, however, occurred to me; but he introduced the subject, and after expressing his interest in my proposed journey, added, 'You wish, of course, to give it a scientific character; take six assistants with you, and I will be responsible for all their expenses, personal and scientific.' It was so simply said, and seemed to me so great a boon, that at first I hardly believed I had heard him rightly. In the end I had cause to see in how large and liberal a sense he proffered his support to the expedition, which, as is usual in such cases, proved longer and more costly than was at first anticipated. Not only did he provide most liberally for assistants, but until the last specimen was stored in the Museum, he continued to advance whatever sums were needed, always desiring me to inform him should any additional expenses occur on closing up

the affairs of the expedition. It seems to me that the good arising from the knowledge of such facts justifies me in speaking here of these generous deeds, accomplished so unostentatiously that they might otherwise pass unnoticed." (Preface.)

Mr. Thayer found his full return in every circumstance and event, every appreciative and helping agency which came in to advance the enterprise, and in its rich and auspicious results. His pleasure began in realizing, as he parted with Professor Agassiz, the radiant and beaming delight of the great naturalist, as he started to seek the improvement of his grand opportunity and the fruition of his high expectations. His trained scientific assistants were an artist, a conchologist, two geologists, an ornithologist, and a preparator. There were also six or more volunteers, with scientific tastes and other accomplishments, all of them catching the ardent enthusiasm of their leader. Among these was Stephen Van Rensselaer, the eldest son of Mr. Thayer, whose career of promise and hopefulness closed in early manhood in 1871.

The enormous collections of the expedition began to be received in Cambridge in 1866; and though the extensive spaces of the Museum for receiving and displaying them have been lengthening and broadening ever since, they are not yet all open and classified. The Professor made his first report before his return in 1867.

In the Report of the Trustees of the Museum in January, 1866, it is —

"Ordered, That the grateful acknowledgments of this Board be offered by the President to Nathaniel Thayer, Esq., for his munificent, kind, and well-considered arrangements, enabling Professor Louis Agassiz, in the way he most desires, and in the most efficient manner, to serve the interests of the Museum, and the cause of science, during his present absence in South America."

Mr. Thayer's munificent generosity for the objects which so engaged the toil and zeal of Agassiz met with much appreciative notice in Europe. The "Gesellschaft für Erdkunde," a Geographical Society in Berlin, — one of the oldest, most honorable, of the European learned societies, and, like them all, exclusive, — an association gathering such members as Humboldt, Carl Ritter, Lepsius, Dr. Livingstone, and the like, — elected Professor Agassiz and Mr. Thayer to Honorary

Membership. The diploma of the latter was accompanied by a letter to him as "a high-minded friend of science."

It would not be consistent with a regard for the modesty and dignity which were so prominent in him to make an exposition or summary of his good and generous deeds. The list of our curiously classified institutions for every form of charity, benevolence, literary, scientific, and artistic culture, and all practical good objects and ends, is well known to be a very long one, and the solicitors for them are by no means only annual in their calls. It would be difficult to find a single one of them that was initiated without a gift of thousands from Mr. Thayer, or aided by repeated contributions lavish and heartily bestowed on the instant call. The Massachusetts General Hospital and the Children's Hospital in Boston were large sharers in his generosity. The newspapers might have kept his name in type as answering to all appeals at home and from abroad. Indeed, the announcement of a liberal gift from him appeared in the papers which noted his decease. The private pensioners on his bounty, continued on his memoranda for years, were as sure of an annual return as if they had claims on an annuity. The genial and kindly tone and smile added a grace to his favors.

Another direction in which Mr. Thayer exercised a large liberality deserves a special mention. On a change in the ministry of the Second Church, then standing on its old site in North Boston, he connected himself, as his brother John had done, with the First Church, on its then site in Chauncey Place. The edifice there was fast becoming wholly unsuited to its purpose by the removal of its old households, the thinning of the congregation, and the conversion of the neighborhood into a crowded mart for business. It was necessary for the survival and prosperous renewal of the Society that it should prepare for a great change of place, and for the erection of a fifth edifice in succession to its first wilderness temple, rude and homely in material and structure. So long as the rich and tasteful and solid edifice of the First Church at the corner of Berkeley and Marlborough Streets shall stand, it will be a monument of the zealous perseverance and of the munificence of Mr. Thayer. His contributions exceeded the sum of \$75,000, nearly a quarter of the whole cost, though much wealth is represented in the Society. He erected in the

church a fine memorial window to his partner brother, and an appropriate memorial of himself is about to be placed within the walls.

To every object connected with the welfare and religious and humane works of his church, Mr. Thayer, though wholly lacking in all limitations and motives of sectarian zeal, was promptly responsive. He was at times a committee of one, and an efficient one. Strongly attached to the simplicity and method of the liberalized Congregational form of worship under which he had been trained, — that of his father and his home, — though he in no way opposed or objected to the adoption of a form of service by a book in the First Church, he was hardly in sympathy with it.

In his full health and vigor, Mr. Thayer enjoyed the refined pleasures, the hospitalities, and social clubs of his city life. His business interests led him to frequent and extensive journeys over the country, and he made the usual European voyages.

Mr. Thayer will always be most pleasantly remembered in his associations with Lancaster by those who were privileged to be his guests there. He was never weaned from the home of his youth, and it became more attractive and satisfying to him in his later years. The widow of Dr. Thayer spent the remainder of her life — which closed June 22, 1857, in the same year as that of her son, John Eliot — in the old parsonage. Mr. Thayer's mode of life here, as well as in the city, was characterized by an elegant and graceful simplicity. There was every provision and appliance for comfort and true enjoyment, with no trace of ostentation or parade, no elaborateness of equipage or liveries, — no overdoing in anything. It always seemed to his guests that their host, in many things, was regarding them rather than himself, and could on his own part dispense with much that was around him were it not that they might enjoy themselves to the fullest.

The guests of Mr. Thayer in his country home could not fail to note the relations of intimacy and acquaintance in which he stood with the people of the town, and with all its local interests, civil, social, domestic, and religious. It seemed sometimes as if he recognized and was acting under a sort of large and general responsibility entailed upon him by his

father. Of all the residents of his own age, and in good part of their children, he knew the names, employments, and condition, and was on a footing of most cordial familiarity with them.

He loved patriotism, and he would commemorate patriots in a way to promote that and other virtues. So his choice for his native town was for a free public library, with well-laden shelves, a reading-room, and all needful appliances. In this should be reared a pure white marble tablet, bearing in letters of gold the names of the honored dead, so that every youth coming for a book should have the memorial with its lesson always before him. "See what you can do about it" was his word to his townsmen. The town treasury contributed five thousand dollars to the object. Private subscriptions added six thousand more. The balance, being about two thirds of the whole cost, was defrayed by Mr. Thayer, who also funded a generous sum for its support. So too in the restoration, slating, and adornment of the substantial brick meeting-house built during his father's ministry, he added to his contribution to the work an endowment of ten thousand dollars for the parish. And in providing a new chapel his word was repeated, "See what you can do about it;" adding, "While you are about it you had better have it done in the best manner." The balance lay with himself. He pursued the same course in the restoration, enlargement, and beautifying of the old burial-grounds, in one of which rest the remains of his parents. In his private beneficences, in a large variety of subjects and directions, he kept his own secrets. His stock farm for many uses of distribution represented what his bank of deposit did in the city. It was by these methods of a wise and generous co-operating liberality that the most cordial and mutually respectful relations existed between Mr. Thayer and his townsmen. A very impressive manifestation of their tender regard for him was shown when, on the day of his funeral from his city church,—a day of storm, of snow and rain and sleet, and of discomforts in travel,—the porch and aisles were filled by unsummoned groups of those mourning friends.

The last three years of Mr. Thayer's life, though free of any severity of pain and suffering, were attended by an enfeeblement of bodily vigor which occasionally impaired the

full exercise of his mental powers. He was gentle and patient under the needful suspense of his business activity and in the seclusion of his home. His release came on the seventh day of March, 1883, at the age of seventy-four.

Mr. Thayer married, June 10, 1846, Cornelia, daughter of General Stephen Van Rensselaer, of Albany, New York. She, with two married daughters, and two married and two unmarried sons, survive him. He was interred in his lot in Mount Auburn Cemetery.

In 1881 the members of the old Congregational Parish in Lancaster erected a brick chapel of the same style of architecture as the meeting-house, to which it is attached. It bears the name of the Thayer Memorial Chapel, in grateful remembrance of Dr. Thayer and his wife, with portraits of them, and a brass memorial tablet. Since the decease of Mr. Nathaniel Thayer the parishioners have set up in it a memorial tablet to him of Caen stone.